Colonial Strategies and Native American Alcohol Consumption in the American Southeast

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COLONIAL STRATEGIES AND NATIVE AMERICAN ALCOHOL CONSUMPTION IN THE AMERICAN SOUTHEAST

By

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ABSTRACT

The consumption of alcohol among Indians of southeastern North America is examined in this thesis. I discuss and compare the colonial strategies of the Spaniards in La Florida and the English in Carolina. The Spanish colonial strategy focused on converting Indians while English colonial strategy focused on exploiting Indians for economic gain. These differing strategies led to the very different alcohol consumption patterns among the Indians associated with the Spanish and the English.

I examined the presence of alcohol in the Southeast using both historical and archaeological evidence. Alcohol was present in many different contexts. It was consumed by Franciscan friars, Spanish soldiers and settlers, English soldiers and settlers, and Indians allied with the English. The only group that did not consume alcohol was comprised of Indians living in missions established by the Spanish friars. Several explanations for this lack of alcohol consumption are discussed and parallels are drawn between the colonial strategies of the Spanish and English and the alcohol consumption of the Indians groups allied with each colonial power.
CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

The drunken Indian is a common stereotype that began in colonial times and persists into the present. Although this stereotype is a gross generalization, it has some basis in fact. Many Indian groups, having never experienced the effects of alcohol before European contact, became victim to its destructive and addictive qualities. Alcohol can be used to escape reality, and many American Indians faced with a dramatically changed post-contact world took advantage of this feature. Many historical sources describe destructive and out-of-control inebriated Indians (Braud 2008; Kelton 2007; Mancall 1995; Salley 1911).

In 1707 the former Governor of South Carolina recorded an incident that occurred while he was in office: two Indians under the influence of excess rum started fighting, resulting in the death of one of the men. The wife of the deceased man then cut off the testicles of the surviving man (Salley 1911: 289-290). Incidents of this sort are common in the public records and letters regarding the early English colonies in the New World reinforce the drunken Indian stereotype.

There is, however, one clear exception to this rule: Indians of Spanish Florida who had been converted to Christianity. Nowhere in the historical sources are Apalachee, Timucua or Guale Indians described as inebriated. In fact, several sources specifically state that these Indian groups abstained from alcohol. The Spanish colony of La Florida encompassed all of modern-day Florida and also included land north to Chesapeake Bay and west to the Mississippi River (Milanich 1999: 2). By the mid-seventeenth century, the peak of the mission
effort, there were as many as 40 missions in La Florida, each with a Spanish friar catechizing to the approximately 15,000 converted Apalachees, Timucuas, or Guales in residence. According to multiple historical sources, these converted Indians did not consume alcohol (Diáz Vara Calderón 1675: 12; Hann [trans.] 1993: 93; Oré 1936: 44).

In this thesis I will describe the presence and availability of alcohol in the southeastern United States, focusing on the Spanish colony of La Florida, with its capital at St. Augustine, and the English colony of Carolina, with its capital at Charles Town. Using both historical resources and the archaeological record, I will examine the consumption of alcohol by the various peoples living in this area, including Spanish settlers, officials and friars, Indians allied with the British, Florida Indians who were not successfully converted, and finally converted Florida Indians. To do this, I will examine references to alcohol and consumption of alcohol in letters, historical manuscripts, and public records to reconstruct patterns of alcohol consumption.

San Luis de Talimali, the largest Spanish mission site in Apalachee Province (located in present-day Tallahassee), was home to converted Indians and Spanish soldiers, friars, and officials. Using excavation reports I will examine the distribution pattern of artifacts related to drinking throughout the site. Some areas of the site have been interpreted as being associated more with Spanish residents, while other areas are linked with Indian residents. Areas of San Luis inhabited by Spanish people contain a much higher percentage of artifacts that might be connected to alcohol than the areas associated with Apalachees.

Alcohol was not present in the Southeast before the Contact period; it was introduced by European colonists. When two cultures come into contact for the first time, there are cultural impacts on both groups. This phenomenon is known as acculturation. The acculturation concept has a long history in anthropology, and is somewhat controversial. There are, however, some key points that will aid this study of the contact between Indians and European colonists.
Colonists living in the New World often attempted to retain the practices of their homeland, which included frequent alcohol consumption. Wine, rum and
other liquors were imported from Spain, England, and other parts of the New World such as Havana, Cuba, and Veracruz, Mexico. It is also possible that alcohol was produced in the Southeast, although there is no unequivocal evidence to support this assertion. Once alcohol reached La Florida, it was consumed by Spanish residents. Additionally, alcohol was traded for furs and skins to inland American Indian tribes (Waselkov 1989: 120). Indians allied with the Spanish, mainly Apalachees, Timucuas and Guales, acted as middlemen in this trade with the unconverted inland Indian groups. Thus, mission Indians had access to alcohol, yet refrained from its consumption.

According to both historical sources and archaeological evidence, it is apparent that alcohol was consumed by Spanish friars, soldiers, officials and their families, but not by Indians converted to Christianity by the Spanish. Indians of southern Florida, such as the Calusa and Ais, who were not successfully converted to Christianity, did consume alcohol. Alcohol was also consumed by English soldiers and colonists, and by Indians allied with the English (Braund 2008; Courtenay 1907; Hann 1991a; Mancall 1995).

In this thesis, I will explore explanations for the lack of excessive drinking among the converted Indians of La Florida, and the inebriation of the Indians who allied with the English. I will then try to relate these explanations to the colonial strategies used by the Spanish and English colonists in the southeastern United States. In doing so, I will attempt to answer the following questions:

1. How does the adoption of alcohol by certain Indian groups fit into the larger realm of acculturation?
2. Was there a policy restricting mission Indians from consuming alcohol?
3. Did mission Indians have access to alcohol? In what contexts?
4. Among Indian groups that did consume alcohol, did all individuals partake? Did males consume alcohol more frequently than females?
5. Is there a relationship between the different colonial strategies used by the Spanish and the English with regards to Indians, and the prevalence of alcohol consumption among these Indian groups?
6. And finally, why did the mission Indians of La Florida not consume alcohol?

Before I go any further, I would like to take a moment to discuss terminology. I have used the term “Indian” above and throughout the rest of this thesis to describe the indigenous peoples of America. In the literature there are many different terms that are used (Native American, American Indian, First Nations, Aboriginal, Amerindian, etc.). For the purpose of clarity and simplicity, in this thesis I follow the convention used by ethnohistorical sources in using the term “Indian” to describe these peoples (Bushnell 1994; Hann 1988; Milanich 1999; Schrager 2001; Waselkov 1994).
CHAPTER TWO
ACCULTURATION AND INDIAN SOCIETIES
PRE-CONTACT

The Study of Culture Contact

The period of European contact in North America is so intriguing and so important because of the cultural interactions. Indians and Europeans had very different cultures, but when Spaniards and Englishmen settled in the southeast, they had no choice but to interact with Indians. Their very survival often depended on Indians. The study of culture contact is often very difficult, as there are two sides to the story, and historical sources tend to be biased. The traditional anthropological approach to culture contact is known as the acculturation concept.

The acculturation concept has many different aspects, and has evolved over time. In its earliest form acculturation was little more than an explanation for European colonial dominance over native societies. It held that Indian cultures, because they were inferior, adopted the obviously superior European cultural traits (Cusick 1998: 127-8). Early models viewed cultures as autonomous entities, thus deemphasizing individual human agency (Cusick 1998: 131).

In 1936, the “Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation,” which appeared in the American Anthropologist, defined acculturation as “those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original patterns of either or both groups” (Redfield et al. 1936: 149). This definition of acculturation emphasized the fact that culture contact affected both cultures, and
did not simply involve the “donor” European culture dominating the “recipient” native culture. This definition also removed the issues of social complexity and power from the acculturation equation. Because power was discounted, anthropologists had to explain why Indians adopted European traits using reasons other than that the more powerful Europeans forced them to. This led to explanations such as mentioned above, that Indian cultures adopted European traits due to their natural superiority (Cusick 1998: 132). These explanations also disregarded the influence of trade and gift-giving, which were the basis for the adoption of many European objects by native groups.

The “level” or “degree” of acculturation could be measured by the amount or frequency of introduced material objects present in an archaeological site, or by the degree of changes in architectural forms (Gillen and Raimy 1940: 371). Later models recognized that changes occurred in both cultures, and that acculturation was not a one-way street (Teske and Nelson 1974: 354). Fernando Ortíz (1995: 98) introduced the concept of transculturation, which he defined as “the highly varied phenomena that have come about […] as a result of the extremely complex transmutations of culture.” Anthropologists saw transculturation as being in opposition to acculturation; in transculturation theory culture change was a two way street, while in acculturation theory, change was unidirectional (Deagan 1998: 28). It seems, however, that today the definition of acculturation has shifted to essentially encompass the ideas of transculturation.

In *Culture and Conquest* (1960), George Foster investigated Spain’s entry into Mexico; particularly, why some Spanish culture traits were adopted by Indians while others were not. According to Foster, there were two levels of interaction within culture contact: the first was the meeting of people who bear culture, the second involved the interaction of cultural systems (Foster 1960: 10). Foster created the term “conquest culture,” which described the screened, or altered, culture that the Spaniards presented to the Indians of the New World. The conquest culture was altered from Spanish culture unintentionally because of the different regions in Spain from which the colonists came from, as well as deliberate changes due to Spanish policies of the church and state (Foster 1960:}
Because the Spaniards were a conquering force, Spanish culture was deemed dominant by Foster, resulting in the limited influence of the native culture. Foster’s acculturation model proposed, therefore, that Spanish culture trait complexes determined by colonizing conditions and Spanish policy were introduced to the New World; Indians either received or refused these traits in the political and social environment of Spanish conquest and dominance (Cusick 1998: 133; Foster 1960: 12).

As early as 1935 there were critiques of the acculturation concept. Gregory Bateson (1935: 178) thought that the “Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation” was too influenced by administrators who sought to justify activities such as forced culture changes. Many anthropologists who espoused acculturation theories consulted for the government at Indian reservations or at Japanese relocation camps during World War II (Cusick 1998: 134). Critiques also were made of acculturation as applied to archaeology. Using the amount or frequency of European artifacts to measure the degree of acculturation does not take into consideration power relationships and equates cultural materials with cultural traits. Acculturation theories also tended to put the Europeans in the role of the active agents, while non-Europeans were relegated to passive roles (Cusick 1998: 135).

Acculturation, although it has been criticized, is an essential concept in anthropological studies. Culture contact continues to be an important part of anthropology, and the acculturation model, when used without racist or ethnocentric tendencies, can help us better understand the nature of culture contact. It is useful in our discussion of alcohol consumption among Indians in the Southeast because alcohol consumption was directly related to the contact between cultures. Before Europeans arrived in North America, Indians in the Southeast had never been exposed to alcohol. Alcohol was one of the many new goods and concepts introduced to Indians by Europeans; others include Christianity and firearms.

We will return to acculturation in Chapter six. First we must discuss Southeastern Indian societies at the time of Spanish contact, as well as the
presence and consumption of alcohol in the Southeast after contact. When we return to acculturation in Chapter six, we will use specific parts of the acculturation concept to compare the nature of the Spanish-Indian contact and the English-Indian contact; with over fifty years of work on acculturation theory, there are many useful aspects.

**Indian Societies at European Contact**

In order to study Indian societies after European contact, it is useful to understand what these societies were like pre-contact. This helps us to recognize what changes occurred in Indian cultures after contact, and what aspects of life remained relatively unchanged. Before European contact, the societies of Indians living in Florida (Timucuas, Apalachees and Guales) and the Indians living in Carolina (Creeks) were similar. These groups had lived in the Southeast before contact; Yamassees moved from central Georgia and perhaps as far north as the Tennessee valley to southern Georgia and Carolina after the Europeans were already present, during the seventeenth century (Schrager 2001: 46). Regardless of when they arrived, all of these groups had similar kinship systems, subsistence strategies, ritual activities, and sacred beverages.

**Kinship System**

The Apalachees, Timucuas and Guales were matrilineal and matrilocal societies. After marriage, a young couple would reside with the family of the woman. Inheritance came to children from the mother’s family. Men were not involved in child-rearing; these duties fell mainly to the mother and her family with whom they lived (Hann 1988: 70). Because of the matrilineal system, the son of the leader’s senior sister was next in line to rule (Hann and McEwan 1998: 15).

The Muskogee group of peoples, which includes upper Creeks, lower Creeks, and Yamassees, were matrilocal and matrilineal as well (Bell 1990: 336;
Sattler 1995: 217). A man’s nephew was his heir, not his son. Unmarried women had sexual freedom, and were even able to bear children out of wedlock with no stigma. Once a woman was married, however, complete fidelity was expected, and adultery carried a strict punishment: the cuckolded husband and his kinsmen beat the woman (and her cheating partner) with switches, then cut off her hair, ears, and sometimes nose (Sattler 1995: 218). Unfaithful men faced a less severe punishment; they were beaten with switches as well, but there was no cropping of hair or appendages.

After a Creek woman was married, her husband built their home and storage areas and prepared their cornfields; the land, however, remained the property of her family (Braund 2008: 13). Work done by the Creeks was very gender specific: as well as building the homes and preparing the fields, males hunted and constructed canoes, tools, and equipment for the ball game. Child-rearing, food gathering, and food preparation were done by the women (Braund 2008: 14). Women also worked in the corn fields and other gardens and produced clothing, baskets and pottery.

**Subsistence**

The Apalachees, Timucuas, and Guales were farmers. They grew maize, beans and squash, and used the slash-and-burn technique to prepare the fields. Agriculture was not the only available means of subsistence. Their proximity to the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic Ocean, as well as many lakes, made it easy to access fish and shellfish. These Indians also hunted game and collected wild fruits and nuts. Acorns played an important role in the diet, and were used for their oils and ground into flour to make bread (Hann 1988: 131). The hides and fur of animals were used for clothing, as were tree bark fibers.

The Creeks were semi-sedentary agriculturalists. They grew corn and other vegetables, but also spent part of the year following and hunting game. Men were the primary meat providers through the hunting of deer, turkey, bear, rabbits and squirrels. Many rivers provided fish such as shad, trout, and perch that were
scooped up in nets. Women collected many wild plants including nuts, berries, herbs and roots, and captured slow-moving animals such as tortoises (Braund 2008: 14, 19). Men cleared the fields and helped plant the seeds, while women and children cultivated the growing corn. Men and women harvested the crop together. Corn and beans were grown together as communal crops, while other vegetables such as peas, gourds and pumpkins were grown in individual gardens (Braund 2008: 18).

The Ball Game

The ball game was played by Apalachees and western Timucuas (Milanich 1999: 148). It consisted of 30 to 50 players on a team whose goal was to kick a tiny buckskin ball onto the goal post at the middle of the field. The ball game was very rowdy and violent, often resulting in injury and even death (Hann and McEwan 1998: 134). The fertility of the crops was guaranteed through the playing of the ball game, which was dedicated to the rain, thunder and sun gods (McEwan 2001: 635). The origin myth of the ball game (as recorded by a Franciscan friar in 1675) involved demons and gods (Hann and McEwan 1998: 130-131). In order to assure victory in the ball game, many ceremonies had to take place, most involving the use of cacina, a traditional tea-like beverage.

One such ceremony was the raising of the goal post. The goal post was shaped like an inverted triangle on a stick (often described as a flattened Christmas tree) (Bushnell 1978: 6). On top was a stuffed eagle in a nest (the players got two points if the ball went into the nest). Before and during the raising of the post, warriors danced around it to the beat of drums. A libation of cacina was poured at the base of the post as it was set into place (Hann 1988: 81).

Another ceremony associated with the ball game took place the night before a game was to occur. The players gathered in the council hall, a large public building at principal centers. The leader smoked a certain blend of tobacco and was served copious amounts of cacina by the ball players. The leader drank
cacina to the point of nausea in order to assure a victory for his team (Hann 1988: 78).

Creeks played the ball game as well, calling it “the younger brother of war” (Hann 1988: 74). Teams from different Creek towns competed fiercely, sometimes resulting in serious injury or death. Victory was cause for a huge celebration for the triumphant team (Braund 2008: 17).

**Cacina Consumption**

Cacina is a traditional beverage brewed from the leaves of the *Ilex vomitoria*, or yaupon holly plant. The species name *vomitoria* comes from the belief that excessive consumption of cacina causes purging. It is unclear whether the vomiting is actually caused by the consumption of cacina, or is induced otherwise.

The leaves of *Ilex vomitoria* contain caffeine (0.56%) and theobromine (0.11%), both of which are stimulating alkaloids that mimic the effects of adrenaline in the brain (Edwards and Bennet 2005: 281). The leaves were collected and roasted to make the caffeine soluble in water, much like coffee beans are roasted (Hudson 1979: 5). The leaves were then brewed in boiling water to create a dark, tea-like beverage.

Cacina was consumed by Apalachees, Timucuas, Guales, and Creeks. Cacina was also consumed daily by the leaders of the Apalachee. Each morning, the leaders, warriors, and others would meet in the council house to discuss the day. Cacina was brewed in the large hearth located at the center of the council house, and was consumed after discussion. Among the Timucuas, women were in charge of preparing cacina (Hann 1996: 26). The head leader took the first drink, and then passed around the same vessel to the rest of the community leaders (McEwan and Hann 2000: 16). In a letter written to the King of Spain in 1630, Fray Francisco Alonso de Jesus wrote “The drink that they call *cazina*, which I have spoken of, is made in this house of the food that is distributed for all the houses and in it alone. The cacique [leader] alone distributes this [drink] with
certain ceremonies” (Hann [trans.] 1993: 95). Cacina was brewed in the council house, and was consumed in the council house as well. One needed permission from the chief in order to drink cacina outside the council house (Hann and McEwan 1998: 75).

Creeks consumed cacina in purification rituals. The hotter the water used in brewing, the higher the caffeine content will be. Creeks brewed very hot and very strong cacina, which they drank extremely quickly. The combination of heat, caffeine, and quick consumption led to a purging effect (Braund 2008: 125). Creeks also consumed cacina in the town squares of their villages, often in a council house similar to that of the Apalachees. The second-in-command to the leader of the village was responsible for the preparation and serving of cacina (Braund 2008: 16).

**Summary**

Apalachees, Guales, Timucuas and Creeks all had very similar lifestyles at the time of European contact. They had similar kinship systems, they played the ritual ball game, and they used cacina for rituals as well as secular consumption. Cacina was the main beverage consumed by these groups besides water. After contact with the Europeans these four groups diverged onto two different paths. The lives of Apalachees, Timucuas and Guales after Spanish contact would remain fairly unchanged and similar to one another, while after contact with the English, Creeks would soon face a radically different everyday life.
CHAPTER THREE

COLONIAL STRATEGIES

Spanish Strategies

The Spanish viewed the New World as a *tabula rasa* on which to spread the true Christian faith, without the corrupting influence of heretical Protestants. Spain was a Catholic monarchy, and it was the duty of the Spanish Crown to uphold the ideals of, and support, the Catholic Church (Milanich 1999: 56). Saving the souls of the American Indians brought great spiritual merit to the Spanish Crown (Lyon 1976: 44). Converting Florida Indians had the additional benefit of pacifying the native people without necessitating a military takeover.

The *Patronato Real*, or royal patronage, created a special relationship between the Pope and the Spanish Crown. A series of Papal concessions granted the Crown the power to control the Spanish church in the New World. Successive Papal bulls conceded authority over certain responsibilities to the Crown. Thus the Spanish monarchs became solely responsible for supporting religious actions (including building churches and maintaining the clergy). In return, the Crown gained the power to present (essentially appoint) high ranking clergy members, including bishops. The Pope honored the appointments made by the Crown except in cases of fraud (Shiels 1961: 61).

The Bull of Granada, issued on December 13, 1486, by Pope Innocent VIII to Isabella and Ferdinand, stated:
Our chief concern and commission from heaven is the propagation of the orthodox faith, the increase of the Christian religion, the salvation of barbarian nations, and the repression of infidels and their conversion to the faith. [...] This we gladly confer, and as a reward of their crusade make them rulers, guardians, and keepers of the lands they conquer and the people there resident. They have a right to be assisted in a manner helpful to them and generally beneficial, so that they may possess and control the churches, monasteries, and other ecclesiastical benefices and occupied territories regained by them in the enterprise to which they consecrated themselves by vow [Shiels 1961: 66].

Although this Papal bull was focused on the Reconquista war against the moors, it set the precedent for the following bulls which would profoundly affect Spanish policy in the New World.

The year 1492 was important to the Spanish world not only for the discovery of the New World by Christopher Columbus, but also because this was the year in which the Moors were finally expelled from Spanish lands. Queen Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon had united regions of Spain through their marriage, and then defeated the Moors in their final stronghold at Granada. The Iberian Peninsula was then freed from Moorish dominance, and Ferdinand and Isabella began the task of unification that set the foundations of the modern nation state (Galgano 2003: 48). The victory of Christianity over Islam reinforced Isabella and Ferdinand’s roles as Catholic monarchs, and garnered recognition from Pope Alexander VI, who was born in Aragon. The royal couple was given the title Los Reyes Catolicos, the Catholic Kings (Galgano 2003: 49). When news came to Isabella and Ferdinand of the “discovery” of the New World and its heathen inhabitants, it was another opportunity to score a victory for Christianity. In 1493, Pope Alexander VI issued a Papal Bull giving Isabella and Ferdinand patronage over the “islands and mainlands discovered and to be discovered, to the west and south, and not under actual temporal rule of other Christian lords” (Liss
A second Papal Bull gave all tithes due from the inhabitants of these lands to the Catholic Kings, to be used for building churches, maintaining clergy, and other miscellaneous Christian needs (Shiels 1961: 90).

Juan Ponce de Leon was the first Spaniard to attempt a settlement in La Florida. His three ships left from San Juan in March of 1513. Ponce first laid eyes upon Florida around Easter, *Pascua Florida* (Feast of Flowers) in Spanish, and named the new land for this feast day, as well as for the many flowers visible on the shore. This first voyage was unsuccessful; Ponce’s plans for colonization met resistance upon contact with Florida Indians. Ponce’s crew camped in Calusa Indian territory for more than three weeks, during which both trade and conflict occurred before the Spaniards decided to take their leave (Milanich 1999: 57).

This unsuccessful attempt did not discourage Ponce, who planned another voyage in 1521. This time, at the direction of the King of Spain, he brought with him priests and friars to convert the native population (Matter 1972: 25). Ponce’s second voyage also ended badly, resulting in his death from a poisoned arrow wound at the hands of a Calusa Indian.

Several other Spaniards led attempts to colonize La Florida in the next few decades, including Lucas Vasquez de Ayllón in 1523, Pánfilo de Narváez in 1527, Hernando de Soto in 1539, and Don Tristan de Luna y Arellano in 1559 (Matter 1972: 26-9). Although all of these expeditions included priests or friars among the men, they were essentially military operations consisting mainly of soldiers. All of these attempts to colonize and conquer La Florida by force ended in failure and often in loss of life due to the hard conditions, lack of food, and hostile native peoples.

It was not until 1565 that successful colonization took place in La Florida. Spain had almost given up on La Florida when news came of a French settlement in Spanish territory: Fort Caroline near the St. Johns River (Figure 3.1). A Protestant Lutheran (Huguenot) colony in the Catholic Spanish-claimed La Florida was anathema to the Crown’s interests. Jean Ribault, along with 150 Frenchmen, had originally settled in 1562 at Santa Elena, which they renamed Port Royal. Thirty French soldiers were left in
Figure 3.1 Early Spanish and French Colonies, with some present-day locations noted (redrawn after Weber 1992: 66).
Port Royal at Charlesfort, a fortified settlement, while Ribault sailed back to France with the rest. The soldiers at Charlesfort could not support themselves due to the scarce food and Indian raids; in 1564 they sailed back to France (Milanich: 79). A Spanish ship was sent to destroy Charlesfort in the summer of 1564, however by the time the ship reached La Florida the fort had already been abandoned.

Ribault’s second-in-command during the La Florida exploration, René Goulaine de Laudonnière, led a second colonization attempt. In April of 1564, three ships containing 300 soldiers and settlers including women, children, chickens and sheep, set sail (Bennett 2001: 17). This time the French settled near the mouth of the St. Johns River, where they built Fort Caroline. Like the first French colony, the settlers struggled with subsistence, and were obliged to trade with Timucua Indians for food. Fortunately for the settlers, in 1565 four English ships stopped at Fort Caroline and provided flour, beans, salt, oil vinegar, and other foodstuffs in exchange for arms (Milanich 1999: 80). In August of 1565 Jean Ribault, the commander of the original French colony in La Florida, sailed to Fort Caroline with orders from the French Crown that gave him command of the colony.

King Philip II sent Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, the commander of Spain’s Caribbean fleet, to destroy the French colony and to once and for all establish a permanent Spanish presence in La Florida. Menéndez de Avilés had another good reason to sail to La Florida. His son had been shipwrecked while traveling from Mexico to Spain, and was possibly still alive somewhere in La Florida (Bennett 2001: 125).

Menéndez de Avilés brought 12 clergymen to convert the American Indians to Catholicism, including four Jesuits and eight secular clergy (Barrientos 1965 [1567]: 33; Lyon 1976: 50). The Spanish Crown was so intent on preserving the purity of the New World that officials, servants, and even slaves that traveled to Florida were not to be of “suspect orthodoxy” (Bushnell 1981: 34). Menéndez de Avilés and his men first spotted the land of Florida on August
28, the feast day of St. Augustine, who would become the namesake of their settlement.

It happened that just as Menéndez de Avilés’ Spanish ships were arriving, so were Jean Ribault’s French ships. The Spanish ships attacked the French ships with cannons, but the faster French ships soon outpaced the Spaniards. The Spaniards sailed south from Fort Caroline and made camp at what would become St. Augustine. Work was begun unloading the ships and building a fortification. French ships sailing along the coast saw the Spaniards at work, and on September 10, 1565 French ships carrying 600 men sailed to attack St. Augustine. Luckily for the Spaniards, the French fleet encountered a huge tropical storm. Four ships were blown ashore and wrecked, including Ribault’s heavily armed flagship (Milanich 1999: 84).

While the French ships were scattered by the storm, Menéndez de Avilés and his men marched overland to Fort Caroline, where only a small portion of the Frenchmen remained. In the early morning of September 20, the Spaniards easily defeated the unprepared Frenchmen, killing 132 men, and capturing 50 women and children (Weber 1992: 61). Menéndez de Avilés left a small company of soldiers at Fort Caroline, which he renamed San Mateo.

The French sailors who had survived the storm were scattered along the coastal margin as far south as Cape Canaveral. They marched northward back to Fort Caroline, unaware that it was now in Spanish hands. Timucua Indians gave Menéndez de Avilés the location of the French survivors: 29 km south of St. Augustine (Barrientos 1965 [1567]: 38). Menéndez de Avilés and a company of Spanish soldiers negotiated their surrender and then bound and killed as many as 200 Frenchmen, sparing only those who claimed to be Catholic.

A second group of French survivors, which included Ribault, arrived at the same location two weeks later on October 11, 1565. Approximately half of this group agreed to surrender, while the other half returned south. Those who surrendered, including Ribault, were executed. The group that returned south met up with a third group of French survivors, and built a wooden fort near Cape Canaveral. In November, Menéndez de Avilés marched south with 150
Spaniards, while another 100 Spaniards went by ship. The Frenchmen numbered only around 75, and soon surrendered. The lives of these captives were spared (Milanich 1999: 86).

The New World was now free of heretical Lutherans. Menéndez de Avilés had won a victory for the Spanish Crown and for Catholicism at great loss of French life. According to Bartolome Barrientos, Menéndez de Avilés’ biographer, the King of Spain praised the actions of Menéndez de Avilés, writing to him:

As concerns the justice you meted out to the Lutheran corsairs who attempted to occupy and fortify Florida in order to sow the seeds of their wicked sect and from there extend their campaign of depredations and damage against the service of God and ourselves, we believe you were fully justified and acted with entire prudence. We feel we have been well served by your action [Barrientos 1965 [1567]: 69).

St. Augustine, where Menéndez de Avilés first landed, became the first permanent settlement in North America, and Menéndez de Avilés became the first Governor, or Adelantado, of La Florida.

Menéndez de Avilés set up his capital, Santa Elena, at the site of the former French colony. This colony failed, and Santa Elena was abandoned in 1586, at which point St. Augustine became the capital of La Florida (Milanich 1999: 106). St. Augustine housed the governor, as well as the largest garrison of Spanish soldiers. In succeeding years, most royal officials and soldiers were stationed at St. Augustine. Only a few were sent out to the hinterlands of the missions. At the height of the mission system, there were three main areas in which missions were successfully launched. The Spanish called these areas
Figure 3.2: Territories of the three main converted Indian groups of La Florida (redrawn after Milanich 1999: 31).
Timucua province, Guale province, and Apalachee province, after the name of the Indian group that lived in the area (Figure 3.2). Each province had its own capital town with some soldiers and royal officials. For example, the capital of Apalachee province was San Luis de Talimali, which was home to a garrison of up to forty soldiers and a deputy governor. The headquarters of Guale province was located at the mission of Santa Catalina, and the main site within Timucua province was Machava. The three provinces and St. Augustine were connected by a variety of trade routes. Trade goods and food were transported throughout La Florida overland along roads and paths, and by sea or rivers in canoes.

At Menéndez de Avilés’ request, Jesuits Father Pedro Martínez, Father Juan Rogel, and Brother Francisco Villareal came to La Florida in 1566 to convert the native population (Matter 1972: 49). On their way from the Caribbean to La Florida, their ship became lost, and they sailed up and down the coast of Florida searching for St. Augustine. Father Martínez, along with two Spanish soldiers and six sailors, went ashore in a small boat to ask for directions. Their small ship got caught in a storm and their party remained at sea for 12 days before they were able to reach land. When Martínez and his companions finally reached land, they tried to forage for food, but they were killed on the beach by Calusa Indians on September 28, 1566 (Cushner 2006: 32).

Menéndez de Avilés had come into contact with the Calusas while searching for his shipwrecked son, and he noted that their territory would be an ideal location for a fort to guard the shipping lanes of the Spanish fleets that carried precious metals from the New World to Spain. He therefore decided that the best place to begin missionary efforts (as well as pacification efforts) would be among the Calusa Indians. A fortress was built and the remaining Jesuits, Father Rogel and Brother Villareal, began their efforts in March of 1567 (Cushner 2006: 34). Father Rogel stayed in Calus, the main village of the Calusas, while Brother Villareal began missionizing among the Tequestas, who lived on the Eastern coast near present-day Miami. Menéndez de Avilés constructed five more forts along the coasts, each housing thirty to forty soldiers (Cushner 2006:}
The Spanish soldiers and missionaries relied upon the Indians for food, a
creliance that the Calusas and Tequestas could not easily shoulder.

The Calusas were not easily converted to Christianity. They questioned
why the Spanish had killed the French, who were fellow Christians. The
explanation that the French were “bad Christians” did not sit well with the
Calusas (Cushner 2006: 37). In addition, several Christian practices, such as
monogamous marriages, went against the Calusa way of life. When gifts of food
were available the Calusas came for instruction. When such gifts were not
forthcoming, they declined to listen. The Jesuits abandoned La Florida in 1572
due to the multiple losses of life, the poor health of the surviving missionaries,
and the small number of Christian converts (Grady 2006: 80).

In 1573 the King of Spain issued the Royal Orders for New Discoveries,
which stated that “preaching the holy gospel … is the principal purpose for which
we order new discoveries and settlements to be made” (Weber 1992: 95). The
Royal Orders gave power to missionaries, and created rules to ensure that
conversion, rather than conquest, was the main goal of exploring new worlds.
With the support of Crown in the form of the Royal Orders as well as alms, the
Franciscan Order entered La Florida and achieved much greater success in
conversions than the Jesuits.

The Franciscans began conversion efforts with the Guale Indians. Father
Alonso de Reinoso and two other friars arrived in La Florida late in 1573 (Matter
1972: 64). Fray Reinoso was a dedicated missionary, traveling back to Spain
three times to recruit more Franciscans to La Florida (Matter 1972: 67-8).
Revolts and uprisings made for a shaky start, with subsequent withdrawals and
renewed attempts. Indian chiefs were reluctant to make such changes as adopting
monogamy. During the Guale uprising in 1597, five Franciscans were killed by
dissatisfied Guales led by Don Juanillo, the son of a chief (Matter 1972: 74).

Although there were some obstacles, the Franciscan missions soon became
successful in spreading Christianity to Timucua Indians and beginning in 1633, to
Apalachee Indians as well. An Apalachee revolt in 1647 resulted in the death of
three Franciscans, the lieutenant of the area and his family, and several Spanish
soldiers (Hann and McEwan 1998: 36). The Apalachees were rebelling against the increasing demand for Indian labor as a result of the expanding trade and tribute system. The Spanish administration responded to the rebellion by executing 12 Apalachee leaders and sentencing 24 others to mandatory labor (Matter 1972: 104). The Franciscans were not happy with this harsh punishment, since it fostered resentment toward the Spanish among the Apalachees. The Franciscans increased their efforts throughout the Indian territories and requested that more and more friars come to La Florida (Matter 1972: 105).

The mission effort continued; by 1655, there were 26,000 Christian Indians in La Florida served by 70 Franciscans. Twenty missions were located among the Timucuas, ten among the Guales, and nine among the Apalachees, as well as numerous visitas which friars visited intermittently (Matter 1972: 106). Visitas were villages that had a church or chapel and Christian Indian residents but did not have a resident friar. Another Indian rebellion occurred in 1656, this time in Timucua province, resulting in the execution of 11 Indians. Timucua warriors had been ordered to St. Augustine to act as reserve troops to aid the city’s defense. To add insult to injury, each warrior, including the leaders, was expected to provide and carry his own rations on his back. Timucua warriors and leaders usually were not responsible for such a lowly task as bearing cargo (Hann and McEwan 1998: 41). This revolt pitted the friars against the governor and his administration; each blamed the other for causing the uprising.

The Spanish conquest of La Florida was ultimately achieved through conversion. Political, economic and ideological conquest was accomplished simultaneously (Wickham 1999: 181). Many Indian leaders realized the political and economic advantage of allying with the foreigners; some even built churches and invited Franciscans to their towns (McEwan 2001: 635). Franciscans brought gifts of European goods to the chiefs, and promised military protection from the garrison at St. Augustine in return for allegiance to the Spanish Crown and Catholic religion (Grady 2006: 82).

The converted Indians became royal vassals of the Crown of Spain and were expected to pay tribute, generally in the form of labor or food. A policy of
prohibiting the enslaving of Indians began with Queen Isabella at the end of the fifteenth century and continued throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Liss 2004: 341). In 1501, Nicolas de Ovando was appointed the Royal Governor of the Indies, and with his appointment he received a list of duties from the King and Queen. His duties included: ensuring the conversion of Indians, punishing those who harm or rob Indians, treating the Indian chiefs with respect, requiring Indians to pay tribute to the Crown, and ensuring that the tithes and first fruits of both Christians and Indians were collected for the Crown (Shiels 1961: 95-97).

Although Indians were protected by the Crown, they were not equal to Spanish subjects. Spanish officials controlled many aspects of Indian life. They forbid trade of firearms until the end of the seventeenth century when the mission system fell under attack by the British and their Indian allies. Indians were also required to perform hard labor such as transporting goods on their backs throughout the mission system. Many Franciscans opposed this labor, which took men away from their families and fields for months at a time. In particular the Apalachees were subject to this labor, as the land in Apalachee territory was fertile and well suited for agriculture. The maize, beans, and squash from Apalachee province fed St. Augustine and the entire mission system when the Crown could not, or did not, provide. The friars instructed the Indians in European farming methods and created permanent agricultural villages (Mason 2005: 7). Apalachees had to work in the fields and then carry the products of their labor on their backs to St. Augustine, a grueling walk. They were often underfed, and this journey resulted in death for some (Milanich 1999: 149). Apalachee became such an important area that in 1640 a deputy governor was installed at San Luis de Talimali, the largest mission in the region (Milanich 1999: 126). Governor Benito Ruiz de Salazar Ballencilla founded his own wheat farm in Apalachee between 1645 and 1657 in hope of providing more food (Lawson 1946: 196).

The Golden Age of the Spanish missions in Florida is often considered to be the period between 1606 and 1690 (Matter 1972: 171). The beginning of the
end, however, dates to 1670 with the founding of the English colony of Charles Town in nearby Carolina. Until this time, the Spanish living in Florida had almost no contact with other Europeans in the New World. The nearest English settlements were in Virginia, several hundred kilometers north of Charles Town. The proximity of Charles Town to St. Augustine, and especially to the missions of Guale province, resulted in many conflicts between the Spanish and the English and ultimately led to the end of the mission system (see Figure 3.2).

The missions in Guale province were attacked by slave raiders throughout the end of the seventeenth century; as a result many Guales abandoned their villages and moved south into consolidated villages. The Apalachee missions came to an end in 1704. Many Apalachee missions were destroyed by James Moore, who led forces of Englishmen and their Indian allies, Creeks and Yamasses. Others were abandoned and then burned by their Spanish and Apalachee inhabitants. Attacks continued in Timucua provinces, and by 1708 the entire mission system was destroyed (Grady 2006: 227).

**English Strategies**

Unlike the Spanish, the British viewed the New World as providing an economic opportunity rather than a religious opportunity. While the Spanish certainly engaged in economic activities such as trade, their focus was conversion. In England, King Henry the VIII had broken ties with the Pope and the Catholic Faith in 1526 to create the Anglican Church. This break allowed the king to divorce his first wife, Catherine of Aragon, a Spaniard and devout Catholic. This unsurprisingly resulted in a strained relationship between England and Catherine’s home country of Spain. Henry’s daughter, Queen Mary, who was married to the Catholic Philip of Spain, restored Catholicism to its former position as the primary religion in England when she ascended to the throne in 1553. Upon Mary’s death in 1558, however, Elizabeth I took the throne and restored the Church of England, which has endured to the present.
The hardworking Protestants of England were not interested in disseminating their faith to the people living in the New World, but rather in disseminating their goods. Unlike the Spanish colonies in La Florida that consisted mainly of single soldiers and friars with a few royal officials and their families, English colonies were populated largely by families looking for economic opportunity (Mason 2005: 7). English people immigrated to North America in much greater numbers than did the Spanish, who could barely sustain a population at St. Augustine. The English did not take into consideration the Indians’ right to land, but renamed and claimed Indian lands in the name of the King (Axtell 1997: 39). While many Spanish soldiers stationed in La Florida took Indian wives, Englishmen were reluctant to associate with the “natives” (Axtell 1997: 40). The English Crown was interested in ruling new lands and expanding territory, and not in gaining new subjects to rule (Wickman 1999: 180-1).

Merchants such as Edward Bland in Virginia felt that expanding English territory to the south of Virginia would increase their economic prospects (Grady 2006: 64). Bland and several other men explored this region; after which Bland wrote thus to Sir John Danvers about Carolina:

> you shall finde [sic] by the Industry of the Surveyors of that Part, the great Benefit that may accrew to the English Plantation; in regard of the many and severall Commodities that may thence arise, by reason of the fertility of the Soyle, Nature having provided so plentifully for all things, that with no extraordinary great Charge it may be effected, to the great Profit, and more Glory of this English Nation [quoted in Salley 1911: 5].

Bland emphasized the profit and glory that England could attain by colonizing Carolina, demonstrating the economic-based attitude that drove exploration and colonization of the New World by the English.

The founding of Charles Town (present-day Charleston, South Carolina) in 1670 brought English traders and goods further south and closer to Spanish
colonies and missions. The English were attracted by the access to highly valued
deer skins and slaves. Though the Spanish generally discouraged the taking of
Indian slaves, the English had no such qualms. Indian groups such as the Westos
and Yamassees, armed with English firearms, went on slave raids to the south
and other areas. Thus they were able to take advantage of the unarmed mission
Indians in Florida (Grady 2006: 203). The Lords Proprietors of Carolina made a
trade alliance with the Westos in 1674 that required the Westos to only take slaves
from Indian groups not allied with the English (Bowne 2005: 2-3). Slaves were
one of the top exports of Carolina, along with timber and tar. Charles Town had
close ties to Barbados, where the sugar cane-based plantation system was always
in need of slaves. Indian slaves were much cheaper than indentured servants from
Europe or African slaves, and sending Indian slaves to Barbados greatly reduced
the risk of the slaves running away and returning to their peoples (Bowne 2005:
64).

The English had much greater access to trade goods than did the Spanish.
Indians who traded with the English stood to gain firearms, cloth, and other
European goods as well as a strong European ally (Grady 2006: 91). The Spanish
Crown discouraged manufacturing in the colonies to protect manufacturers in
Spain. It also limited trade to Spanish goods for the sake of tax collection (Weber
1992: 175). This caused a shortage of Spanish goods in the New World. In
addition, the Spanish restricted the trade of firearms to Indians while the English
did not. However, English traders were limited to trading muskets to Indians, as
opposed to more powerful and deadly rifles (Braund 2008: 122). Some Indian
groups that were once allied with the Spanish were swayed by the more plentiful
goods of the English, as well as the lack of conversion efforts. This fact was well
known to the Spanish. Wrote Alonso de Leturiondo to the King of Spain around
1700:

And that these Indians get along so well with the English, Sir, is
because the latter do not oblige them to live under the bell in law
and righteousness, but rather, only as they wish to, while the
English bring them guns, powder, balls, glass beads, knives, hatchets, iron tools, woolen blankets, and other goods with which they make their trade [Hann 1986c: 175].

The Creeks were an Indian group with whom the Spanish had been involved in trade through Apalachee middlemen (Braund 2008: 28). The Spanish attempted to convert the lower Creeks, or Apalachicolas, but were unsuccessful and maintained only a trade relationship (Hoffman 2002: 160). When the English arrived in Charles Town, with their focus on trade instead of conversion, they quickly became allies of the Creeks. The English also traded horses and firearms to the Creeks, an exchange that the Spanish had limited or completely prohibited (Hoffman 2002: 161). This Anglo-Creek alliance greatly decreased the Spanish-Creek trade.

The Yamassees were another Indian group that the Spanish attempted, and failed, to convert to Catholicism. The Yamassees migrated to what is now Georgia and northern Florida in the mid-seventeenth century to settle in Guale and Apalachee provinces (Schrager 2001: 116). At the encouragement of the Spanish, some Yamassees moved into Guale towns that had been abandoned due to diseases and raiding from the north, and some moved into established Guale and Apalachee towns (Galgano 2003: 177). Although not converted, Yamassees allied with Spanish colonists and engaged in trade with mission Indians. The Spanish were happy to have the Yamassees as a buffer between the mission Indians and English Carolina. They also increased their labor draft (Galgano 2003: 177). In the 1680s, however, over a thousand Yamassees switched their allegiance to English Carolina (Schrager 2001: 137).

The Yamassees were likely swayed by the greater availability of trade goods the English had to offer, as well as the freedom from the forced labor that was inflicted upon them by the Spanish. With the founding of Charles Town came increased demand for Indian slaves, and it quickly became clear that the Spanish colonists could not, or would not, protect their Indian allies from slave raiders such as the Westos (Schrager 2001: 147-8). Indian groups allied with the
English were safe from slave raids. This was another compelling reason to switch alliances. Allied with the English, Yamassee had access to European goods and protection, but were able to retain their autonomy. The Carolina government even restricted settlers from moving too close to Yamassee villages (Schrager 2001: 168).

The Spanish attempted to quell the changing tide of alliances and decreased trade by insisting that English traders stay away from Spanish territory and the Indians living within. In 1690, in an attempt to recover their trade monopoly, the Spaniards built a small military post among the lower Creeks. The Creeks responded by simply leaving the area and moving to the Ocmulgee and Oconee river valleys in what is now central Georgia (Waselkov 1994: 191). When the English refused to relinquish control of the trade system, Apalachee provincial commander Lieutenant Antonio Matheo and 250 soldiers attacked and burned several Creek towns in 1695 (Braund 2008: 29). These actions, however, did nothing to help the Spanish cause; the English continued to trade with Indians, and now Anglo-Spanish relations were strained.

In 1702, the Governor of Carolina, James Moore, led an attack on Spanish Florida (Figure 3.3). He attacked St. Augustine by sea and overland and destroyed the town. When Charles Town was founded the Spaniards began building a new fort that was completed in 1687. The new fort, or castillo, was built of coquina, a stone made of shell conglomerate. The massive structure safely housed all the Spanish townspeople, Indians, and soldiers until Spanish reinforcements arrived, causing Moore and his troops to flee (Weber 1992: 142).

Although he successfully destroyed most of St. Augustine, because he did not capture the castillo Moore’s raid was considered a failure and he was removed from the position of governor. Losing his position did not lessen his desire to
Figure 3.3: English raids on La Florida (redrawn after Weber 1992: 142).
destroy the Spaniards, and in 1704 he raised a private army that included Yamasses and Creeks. This army attacked the Apalachee missions twice in 1704 and essentially destroyed the mission system. Mission towns were razed and their populations were killed or taken as slaves (Braund 2008: 32; Waselkov 1994: 193). By the end of the year the Spanish abandoned Apalachee province. This included abandoning and burning San Luis, one of the few missions that had not fallen victim to Moore and his men. By 1706 only St. Augustine remained as the Spanish holdout in the Southeast (Weber 1992: 143).

In 1655 the Spanish missions in La Florida consisted of around 26,000 Indians in 38 missions. In 1675, five years after Charles Town was founded, Bishop Calderón reported that there were 13,152 converted Indians living in 33 missions (Diaz Vara Calderón 1675: 12; Grady 2006: 112). This decline in mission Indian population was due to the spread of European diseases, slave-raiding from the north, and also to shifting alliances of Indians who became English allies (Grady 2006: 112). It is clear that with the founding of Charles Town, the power of Spain in Florida began to wane.

The Lords Proprietors of South Carolina wrote thus to the Governor regarding American Indians:

Furnishing a bold and warlike people with Armes [sic] and Ammunition and other things usefull to them […] would tie] them to soe strict a dependence upon us […] that whenever that nation that we sett up shall misbehave […] toward us, we shall be able whenever we please by abstaineing from supplying them with Ammunition […] to ruine them” [Salley 1928-47: 116-8; quoted in Axtell 1997: 70].

The English colonists’ strategy was to first force Indian dependence on European goods and then to threaten to end trade with Indians in order to manipulate their behavior (Mason 2005: 13-4).
The English strategy of colonization is one that emphasized economic gain and trade opportunities in conjunction with diminishing Spanish control of the area. Gaining new subjects for the King of England or converting heathen Indians to Christianity were not high priorities for the English. Gregory Waselkov (1994: 195) wrote of the English strategy in dealing with Creek Indians:

[English] Colonial officials depended on the lure of exotic ornaments, the physical dependence induced by rum and brandy, and the enticing efficiency of firearms to reduce the Creeks to political subservience through economic necessity.

This was a very different approach from the Spanish colonial strategy, which emphasized gaining new Christian souls to be subjects of the King of Spain. The Spanish of course also participated in trade with Indian groups, but their main priority was conversion and pacification.
CHAPTER FOUR

THE PRESENCE OF ALCOHOL

Historical Evidence

Entry of Alcohol into the Southeast

There is much evidence for the presence of alcohol in Florida in the historical record. The shipment of rum and wine from Spain and New Spain is widely documented (Bushnell 1994; Deagan 1987; Lister and Lister 1987; Marken 1994; Waselkov 1989). Spaniards and criollos (Spaniards born in the New World) living in Florida tried as best they could to retain an Iberian diet of wine, olives, and wheat. Alcohol and other foods that could not be obtained in Florida were provided by a situado, or subsidy, from the Spanish Crown. Until 1702 the situado was paid out of the Mexico City royal treasury. Each year an agent was sent from St. Augustine to oversee the shipment. Goods were bought in Mexico City, carried overland to Vera Cruz, and then finally sent by ship to St. Augustine by way of Havana (Tepaske 1964: 77-9). Most of the goods were kept in St. Augustine for the many officials and soldiers stationed there, but a portion was carried throughout Florida to the many missions. The size of the situado was based on the number of soldiers, friars and royal officials living in Florida. During the 1630s, friars were apportioned one pint of wine per day through the situado (Bushnell 1994: 57).

Friars also received an additional stipend from the Crown to provide for their church and congregation. Because Franciscans took a vow of poverty, this stipend was referred to as “alms.” This stipend consisted of 158 pesos per year,
and was used to buy sacramental wine, candles, and other essentials for the church, as well as food for converted American Indians (Tepaske 1964: 178). Grape wine, wheat flour, olive oil, linen and beeswax were all necessary for “decent” worship, but all were in short supply in Florida (Bushnell 2004: 149).

Of the seven sacraments, three were not available to the Indian converts: confirmation, extreme unction and ordination. The lack of these sacraments was mainly due to the small number of priests that served a large number of converts. The Franciscans simply were not able to get to the deathbed of every mission Indian and perform extreme unction (Bushnell 1994: 99). Confirmation required a Bishop, which Florida lacked until the mid-1730s. The other four sacraments (baptism, penance, the Eucharist, and matrimony) were allowed. The Franciscan friars were very cautious about who was allowed to receive the Eucharist. A convert had to go through intense indoctrination and have been confessing sins for four to five years before they were allowed to take part in the Eucharist (Bushnell 1994: 97-98). Communion took place each Sunday at mass, when wine was available, for those deemed worthy. It is likely that the communion of most people in La Florida consisted only of the wheaten host wafer, while the sacred wine was reserved for the communion of the priest, as a sort of communion by proxy.

The situado was not the only source of alcohol in Florida. The situado was undependable; the goods were often late or did not come at all. The Provincial General for Florida and Cuba, Friar Francisco Perez, wrote to the Spanish Crown in 1646 that the Florida friars,

suffer from great hunger, difficulty, [and] discomfort, which grow daily as a result of a continual lacking of the situado, since it had been ten years since one had arrived to the province in its entirety […] many times [necessity] has reached such an extreme that there have been no communion hosts, nor wine to celebrate mass” [Lopez-Jordan 2008: 85].
The ships that carried the *situado* goods were victim to English pirates on occasion. Even when shipments arrived on time, a large portion of the foodstuffs might be inedible. Goods traveled a long way before arriving in St. Augustine, and were of poor quality even before being put on a long sea voyage. The motion of the sea caused wine to turn vinegary, and damp conditions resulted in moldy, wormy flour.

Because of the unreliability of the *situado*, Florida residents had to find other sources of imported goods. A port established by 1639 on the San Marcos River (today St. Mark’s River) in Apalachee province allowed illicit trade with Havana and Vera Cruz (Bowne 2005: 12-3; Milanich 1999: 126) (Figure 4.1). All imported goods were supposed to enter Florida through St. Augustine where a customs house levied taxes (Bushnell 1978: 424). Because of this, goods in St. Augustine were often overpriced. The port at San Marcos avoided these pitfalls. Between 1671 and 1673 (during the Governorship of Manuel de Cendoya), port San Martin on the Suwannee River in Timucua province was officially opened for export, although unofficial trade had been occurring since the 1640s (Bushnell 1978: 417, 424). Franciscans helped to provide for their flock by exporting Indian-produced goods from San Marcos, and soldiers from the garrison at San Luis supplemented their meager rations using profits from trade (Milanich 1999: 126). The wealthy Florencia family also took advantage of the San Marcos port. The Florencias resided in San Luis de Talimali, where Juan Fernandez de Florencia served as deputy governor. Diego de Florencia, the nephew of Juan Fernandez, was a major player in the trade between Apalachee and Havana. Records from 1677 indicate Diego as the owner of the frigate *The Nativity of St. Francis of Padua*, even though he was only 10 years old at the time (Hann and McEwan 1999: 57). This ship was seized by pirates in the San Marcos port.

Wine and rum were very likely among the goods imported to Apalachee Province by the Florencias, who tried to preserve the Spanish lifestyle and diet.
Figure 4.1: Shipping and Trade Routes of La Florida (redrawn after Hann 1988: Figure 6.1).
The Florencias were not the only wealthy Floridians. The Apalachee and Timucua provinces of Florida were home to many wealthy cattle ranchers. Spaniards born in Florida (criollos) could request grazing rights to land outside the city from the governor (Bushnell 1978: 410). These plots of land were required to be farther than three leagues from any American Indian settlement, but this regulation was generally ignored. These criollo cattle ranchers living in Florida attempted to create a landed gentry class much like Spanish hidalgos. Ex-governors Luis de Horruytiner (1633-1638) and Pablo de Hita Salazar (1675-1680) contributed to this effort by remaining in Florida after their term in office (Matter 1972: 150). Cattle ranchers took advantage of the benefits of the unsanctioned trade at San Marcos and San Martín. They profited by illegally trading the products of their ranches. After his term as deputy governor ended, Juan Fernandez de Florencia remained in Apalachee territory as a cattle rancher (Hann and McEwan 1998: 54). There were as many as 25 ranches in La Florida by the late seventeenth century, some of which were owned by elite Apalachees (Milanich 1999: 155). These elite Apalachees must have had access to alcohol, but they did not take advantage of their status and consume alcohol.

The largest cattle ranch in La Florida, La Chua, was located in Timucua province near present-day Gainesville, Florida. Francisco Menéndez Marquez, the former Royal Treasurer of Florida, was raising cattle there by 1630 (Milanich 1999: 154). Timucuas provided the necessary labor to run the ranch. After Francisco’s death, his son Tomás, a royal accountant, took over La Chua. Tomás Menéndez Marquez claimed that his ships coming to and from San Martín only carried household necessities, but the Havana shipping records reveal the true story. Menéndez Marquez shipped hides, dried meat, and tallow to Havana from San Martín. In Havana, he bought rum to trade in Apalachee for furs (Bushnell 1978: 424, 1981: 37). Menéndez Marquez also ran an import trade in aguardiente (a kind of brandy) through the Suwannee River. In an effort to limit this activity, the Spanish Crown ordered that the Suwannee must be blocked in 1691, 1696 and 1700. All attempts to dam the river were swept away by the current and the untaxed liquor trade continued (Hoffman 2002: 172).
When the port opened at San Marcos in 1639, the Spanish organized peace between the Apalachees and the Chacatos, Apalachicolas (lower Creeks), and Amacenos - non-Christian Indian groups that bordered Apalachee territory (Hoffman 2002: 113). These groups had been in conflict with the Apalachees, but with the Spanish intervention they were able to maintain a peaceful trading relationship. Apalachees acted as middlemen, using European goods such as glass beads, brass bells, iron knives, and rum from Menéndez Marquez, to trade with the inland Indian groups for skins and furs (Braund 2008: 32; Waselkov 1989: 129; 1994: 194). Other Spanish mission Indians, especially the Guales and Timucuas, were also involved in the trade of European goods to inland Indian groups (Waselkov 1994: 194).

Production of Alcohol in the Southeast

According to the strict rules of Catholicism, sacramental wine is to be made from untrodden pure fermented grape juice (Bushnell 1994: 75). Because sacramental wine represents and becomes the blood of Christ, not just any wine or alcoholic beverage can be used. As a last resort, wine could be made from reconstituted raisins, but wine from fresh grapes was preferred (Bushnell 1994: 75). According to Bushnell (1994: 78), attempts made to grow Spanish grapes in Florida were not a success. Some historical documents, however, record the presence of European grapes at St. Augustine (Milanich 1999: 145-6). Jerald Milanich (1999: 146) suggests that these grapes in fact could have been grown at Apalachee mission sites. Bushnell (1994: 79) admits that it is possible that winemaking could have illicitly taken place at Spanish mission sites in La Florida, using either local wild grapes or European varieties.

The English pirate Captain John Hawkins visited the French colony at Fort Caroline in 1565, before it was destroyed by Menéndez de Avilés. Hawkins found the colony in bad shape, and he left them with a ship and some food. He did, however, report that “The ground yeeldeth [sic] naturally grapes in great store, for in the time that the Frenchmen were there, they made 20 hogsheads of
wine” (Blacker 1965: 154). If this is true, then the wine was probably made from *Vitis rotundifolia* grapes, commonly known as muscadine grapes (Pinney 2007: 11). Hawkins’ report of the French winemaking has been questioned by some scholars, as the French did not record any winemaking. In fact, they reported that the only wine they had came from outside sources. We cannot be sure if the French at Fort Caroline were the first to produce alcohol in the New World, but it is certainly possible to make wine from muscadine grapes that were, and still are common throughout Florida (Austin 2004: 708). Either the French or Spanish colonists could have attempted winemaking using these grapes, thus introducing another source of alcohol in La Florida.

**Archaeological Evidence**

The presence of alcohol is somewhat difficult to determine archaeologically. The vessel most often used to ship and store wine was the ceramic olive jar. The olive jar, however, was a multi-functional vessel that was used to hold water, oil, olives, pitch, and many other substances besides alcohol. Olive jars were also reusable, so although they may have originally contained wine, they could be reused as storage for any of the substances named above. The broken pieces of olive jars have even been used as building materials (Deagan 1987: 32). We cannot, therefore, unequivocally equate the presence of olive jars with the presence of alcohol.

Olive jars are abundant in the archaeological record of Spanish Florida. The study of olive jars was begun by John M. Goggin with his definitive 1960 work, *The Spanish Olive Jar: An Introductory Study*. Goggin created a typology based on the shape and paste type of the olive jar. He divided olive jars into early, middle, and late styles (Figure 4.2). According to Goggin, early style olive jars typically have a globular body with two large handles below the neck, a white slip exterior, and a green lead glaze interior. They were made in halves and the handles and mouth were added later. Early style olive jars were in use beginning
Figure 4.2: Goggin’s Olive Jar Typology (redrawn after Deagan 1988: 31)
around 1500 until around 1580 (Goggin 1960: 23). Middle style olive jars are more egg-shaped than globular and do not have handles. Like early style olive jars, middle style olive jars often have a white slipped exterior and a green lead glaze interior, but sometimes they have a yellow, white, or blue glazed interior. Middle style olive jars were in use from around 1580 to around 1800, making them the most common of the olive jar styles (Goggin 1960: 24). Late style olive jars appeared around 1780. These olive jars had a more angular body and a thinner neck than middle style olive jars. Goggin divided the Middle and Late Styles further by shape into Types A, B, C, and for the Late Style only, Type D.

Goggin’s typology was more or less adopted by later scholars, including Kathleen Deagan (1987) and Florence and Robert Lister (1987). Using olive jar sherds recovered from Spanish shipwrecks, Mitchell Marken refined Goggin’s typology (Marken 1994). Working with associated ceramics from a securely dated, closed context allowed Marken to see the olive jars differently. Instead of grouping the olive jars by date, Marken focused on shape and size. He saw continuity from the Middle Type A to the Late Type A, and so on. Marken thus divided olive jars into Type A, B, and C, placing D within Type C as a variation. Dividing olive jars by shape, Marken was able to draw some further conclusions (Figure 4.3). By examining historical shipping records, Marken determined the common terminology used to describe the vessels used for shipping, along with their volumes and contents. He associated Type A with botijas peruleras, Type B with half-arroba botijas, and Type C with conical botijas. Botijas seems to be a general term for the olive jar (Marken 1994: 130-1).

Marken then associated these different shapes with different contents based upon shipping records. Type A jars were primarily associated with wine, while Type B jars were primarily associated with olive oil. In addition, a Type A jar from the 1621 shipwrecked San Antonio was sealed by a cork stopper when it was recovered, and it was still full of wine upon opening (Marken 1994: 117). The Spanish measured volume in arrobas; the Castilian wine arroba is equivalent to 16.133 liters. The Type A botijas peruleras from Marken’s sample that date to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries can be associated with this volume.
Figure 4.3: Marken’s Olive Jar Typology (redrawn after Marken 1994: 132, 135, 136)
(Marken 1994: 127). It seems clear that wine was shipped and stored in Type A *botijas peruleros*.

Wine may have filled the majority of Type A olive jars, but not all of them. Type A olive jars have been recovered containing olive pits and pitch. There is no clear one-to-one correlation between shape and content. Thus the presence of a Type A olive jar does not necessarily indicate the presence of wine. The presence of wine, however, necessitates the presence of olive jars; if a site completely lacks olive jars, it most likely lacks wine as well.

Other objects in the archaeological record associated with alcohol consumption are wooden casks, silver and glass bottles, pitchers and cups, used to store and serve wine. Wooden casks, or *pipas*, were also used to ship wine overseas to La Florida. Often wine was shipped by sea in a *pipa* along with empty olive jars. When the boat reached its destination, the empty olive jars were filled with wine for land transportation, and the now-empty *pipa* was put to other uses such as lining a well (Deagan 1987: 31).

Wine was stored in a cruet for communion, and poured into a chalice for drinking. The cruets were usually glass, but silver cruets were used for special occasions (Hann 1986: 161). The chalices were generally made of silver. In 1681, an inventory was taken of the 34 existing missions in Florida. The inventory lists 57 silver chalices and 16 pairs of silver cruets, as well as 252 palls that are the small linen squares used to cover the chalice (Hann 1986b: 148, 160). Wine was served at the table in *porrones* - bottom-heavy glass vessels with a curved spout. *Porrones* were also used to hold holy water and oils (Deagan 1987: 153). Wine was poured into glass goblets for consumption. These glass vessels rarely show up in the archaeological record however. Inside the church complex at San Luis de Talimali, the largest mission in Apalachee, 49 glass fragments were found in comparison to 10,833 ceramic fragments (McEwan 1996: Table 1). These pieces of glass, mainly bottle fragments, likely held wine and oil.

Certain glass vessels are associated with alcoholic spirits (Deagan 1987: 134). Square sectioned green bottles with a threaded rim for a pewter cap have been found in several Spanish colonial sites. They likely have an English or
Dutch origin (Deagan 1987: 132). English glassmakers also made onion bottles, which were squat bulbous bottles associated with wine (Noel Hume 1969: 62-3).

Although the presence of alcohol is not directly visible in the archaeological record, with rare exceptions, evidence of trade between Europeans and American Indians beginning in the late sixteenth century is documented. Brass gorgets, for example, are found at sites in Florida, Georgia and Tennessee (Waselkov 1989: 121). Sites containing similar goods indicate a trade network that extended throughout the southeast United States. This trade network is linked to the Spanish missions in Florida. According to Waselkov (1989: 128), the distribution of goods known to be of Spanish origin, such as iron hoe heads, is very similar to the distribution of gorgets, effigies, and other brass objects which do not obviously have a Spanish source. This similar distribution indicates a common origin: Spanish colonies and missions (Waselkov 1989: 128).

Waselkov’s argument is strengthened by the fact that these objects are not found in the archaeological record after the destruction of the mission system in 1704 (Waselkov 1989: 128-9). Brass gorgets, bracelets, collars, effigies, and other metal items, beads, rum and firearms were traded for dressed deerskins and native foods. The Spanish recognized that the American Indians used copper objects as prestige goods, and created copper and brass objects solely for trade with Indian groups (Waselkov 1994: 194).

Although historical documents indicate that trading firearms to American Indians was forbidden, the archaeological record shows that this rule was not always followed. The port of San Marcos made it easier to bypass these restrictions. Seven mission sites in Apalachee and Timucua regions contain evidence of firearms, including gun parts, gunflints, and ammunition (Waselkov 1989: 121). Alcohol use by Indians was also restricted by the Spanish, but it is possible that illicit trade in alcohol occurred, just as illicit trade in firearms occurred.
CHAPTER FIVE

ALCOHOL CONSUMPTION

Historical Evidence

Although alcohol was present throughout Spanish Florida and was very likely available to Indian groups, there is very little historical evidence for drunkenness among Florida Indians during the Mission period. In fact, several visitors to Florida comment upon the surprising lack of inebriation.

Fray Luis Geronimo de Oré was a Franciscan Spanish criollo. He spent time among the Indians in his natal Peru. In 1617, he published a history of the mission effort in Florida in the period between 1513 and 1616. Oré’s sources included earlier accounts, personal observation, and interviews with those involved. According to Oré’s account, “the Indians of Florida are not addicted to the vice of drunkenness, to which all the Indians, both of New Spain and Peru, are given” (Oré 1936: 44).

Fray Francisco Alonso de Jesus was a Franciscan friar who served in Florida. In 1630 he travelled to Spain to recruit friars for the Florida mission field. While there, he wrote a memorial reporting the Franciscan efforts in Florida. Fray Alonso described the landscape, environment, plants, minerals and animals of Florida, as well as the inhabitants. Among other things, he wrote: “The nature of the Indians of these provinces is the best among all Indians we have known because they do not get drunk as all the rest of the nations commonly do, nor have they ever had drink that causes such an effect” (Hann [trans.] 1993a: 93).
When Gabriel Diáz Vara Calderón, the Bishop of Cuba, visited La Florida 45 years later, he came to the same conclusion. In his 1675 letter he wrote of the mission Indians: “Their only drink is water, and they do not touch wine or rum” (Diáz Vara Calderón 1675: 12; Hann 1988: 149).

Evidently the only historical document that does mention converted Indians consuming alcohol comes from the 1678 visitation of Domingo de Leturiondo, the lieutenant of the governor. While in Machava, the seat of the Timucua province deputy governor, de Leturiondo told the Timucuas “that they should extinguish the use of wine both for the expense that it involves and for the offense to God that results from its use, not to mention that such was ordered in the last visitation” (Hann 1996: 255; de Leturiondo 1678: 125-127). These remarks indicate that consumption of alcohol by American Indians was explicitly discouraged by the Spanish. It is noteworthy that de Leturiondo does not describe the Timucuas as drunk or inebriated, and that he is not dissuading alcohol use on the basis of disorderly behavior. Instead, de Leturiondo is concerned about the cost of the alcohol and the souls of the Timucuas. This implies that he felt that their alcohol consumption was not excessive or destructive, just un-Christian.

Archaeological Evidence

Now we turn to evidence from the archaeological record. The material culture associated with alcohol consumption was discussed above; we will now examine sites where these artifacts are present. In order to do this three sites were chosen: an early Apalachee mission, a later Apalachee mission, and a Timucua mission. These sites were chosen because they are well excavated with much available data. They also contain artifacts that might be associated with drinking.

San Luis (8Le4)
As discussed above, it is difficult to see the consumption of alcohol, or the lack thereof, in the archaeological record. Although it is difficult, an attempt will be made to examine the distribution of olive jars at the Spanish Mission site of San Luis de Talimali, also referred to as San Luis de Apalachee, located in Florida’s current capital, Tallahassee. San Luis was the capital of Apalachee Province, and was home to a deputy governor. San Luis was also a presidial town, a town with a presidio, or fort, and a garrison of between 12 and 40 soldiers (Hann and McEwan 1998: 62). San Luis was home to the wealthy Florencia family, some of whom lived in a Spanish village at the site and owned a cattle ranch nearby. San Luis was a unique site because of this large Spanish presence. Instead of just a friar living among Indians with only a church and a convento, San Luis had several buildings constructed in the European style. Because of the increased Spanish presence, as well as the nearby port of San Marcos, alcohol was plentiful at San Luis. Olive jars, which could have been used to store wine, are present throughout the site. However, when the distribution of the olive jars is examined closely, a pattern emerges.

Bonnie McEwan, the principal excavator at San Luis, has identified the different areas of the site. Mission San Luis was organized around a large circular plaza 125 m in diameter (Hann and McEwan 1998: 69). The plaza was identified archaeologically using topographic mapping. Around the diameter of the plaza was a low ridge made of earth, probably from accumulated debris swept away from the plaza (Hann and McEwan 1998: 71).

Many structures were located around this open plaza, including a convento, a church, and a council house. The convento, or friary, was the home of the one or more Franciscans who lived at the site. The convento consisted of several rooms, and measured approximately 9 by 21 m (Hann and McEwan 1998: 91). It was of European design with pine timbers and wattle and daub construction.

Located directly next to the convento was the church, one of the largest mission churches in La Florida and similar in size to the church at St. Augustine. This was also of European design, and measured about 15 by 34 m. Interestingly,
these measurements adhered to the proportions of the golden rectangle, a classical building scheme that dates as far back as 300 B.C.E. (Hann and McEwan 1998: 87). Unlike the friary, the church contained cypress posts that were not used in any other building at Mission San Luis excavated to date (Hann and McEwan 1998: 84). Cypress was valued because it did not deteriorate as quickly as pine. The use of the golden rectangle proportions and cypress wood indicates the importance of the church at this site. The church also was used as a cemetery. Graves were found beneath its floor. Grave goods included many glass beads and a quartz crystal cross (Hann and McEwan 1998: 119-120). Finds from the area of the church consist of a limestone baptismal font base, a bronze bell fragment, numerous hardware fragments, and both aboriginal and imported ceramic sherds (Hann and McEwan 1998: 89).

The structure that dominated the plaza at Mission San Luis was the traditional Apalachee council house. This round structure had a diameter of over 37 m. Post holes indicate that the building was supported by eight massive pine posts in an inner circle. Many smaller posts arranged in two concentric circles provided additional support, as well as the framework for a system of benches (McEwan and Hann 2000: 17). The council house acted like a hotel of sorts; visitors to San Luis used the benches as beds. People sat on the benches during gatherings, dances and ceremonies that took place in the council house. The leaders of the Apalachees gathered in the council house each morning to discuss the village issues and drink to cacina (Hann and McEwan 1998: 76-7). A central hearth was located under a massive skylight, while smudge pits filled with burned corn cobs lined the interior of the walls. The council house roof was thatched, and has been reconstructed as a steeply pitched conical roof. Finds from the council house include a large number of ceramic sherds, 162 glass beads, two glass pendants, and a small brass medallion (Shapiro and Hann 1990: 521-2).

A Spanish village was located to the east and northeast of the central plaza. Historical evidence indicates that by the end of the seventeenth century and early eighteenth century, there were around 50 Spanish men residing at San Luis (Hann and McEwan 1998: 96). Only three houses from this village area
have been excavated. They display two distinct building styles: wattle and daub and plank-and-thatch. The Spanish village was apparently not organized in a grid pattern; instead houses were placed at haphazard angles. One of the houses, somewhat larger than the other two, was located on the northeast edge of the plaza. Finds from this structure include foodstuffs, tablewares, silver spoons, and personal adornments. The location of this house, its size, and the valuable goods found within it led the excavators to suggest it may have been the home of a deputy governor (Hann and McEwan 1998: 97).

Spanish soldiers were present at San Luis beginning in 1638. A series of fortifications were constructed at the site during the second half of the seventeenth century, but only evidence from the final fort, built between 1695 and 1697, remains (Hann and McEwan 1998: 93; Vernon and Cordell 1993: 421). This final fort consisted of a blockhouse surrounded by a palisade with bastions at each corner. The palisade measured approximately 40 by 70 m, and was constructed of wooden posts, while the blockhouse measured approximately 12 by 21 m and was built of wattle and daub (Hann and McEwan 1998: 93-4).

The excavators at San Luis believed there was evidence of an Apalachee village at the west side of the central plaza due to the high proportion of aboriginal ceramic material and the relative lack of Spanish ceramics (McEwan 1992: 4). When this area was excavated, however, it seemed to be more of a work space or gathering space than the site of a village, since few building materials were recovered (McEwan 1992: 33). One structure was reconstructed as a 6.25 m diameter round building with a thatched roof. This building had smudge pits around the interior of the wall, much like at the Council House. Native ceramics and lithics, as well as Spanish goods such as a flintlock fragment, glass, beads, and Spanish pottery were found in this structure (Hann and McEwan 1998: 80). Suggestions as to the function of this structure include an early council house, a community storage building, and a craft production area. The bulk of the evidence, however, points to a residential building, most likely of the chief or other important person due to its large size (McEwan 1992: 33). No other structures were excavated that could house the numerous converted Apalachees.
living at San Luis. It is likely that the majority of lower and middle class Apalachees lived in farmsteads in the low-lying agricultural fields surrounding San Luis (McEwan 1992: 35). This way the Apalachees could be close to their crops, but also close enough to the mission to easily come to mass and other gatherings in the center of the village. This habitation pattern was indigenous and was in use before the arrival of the Spanish.

Some structures in San Luis, such as the convento and the blockhouse, are clearly associated with Spanish inhabitants. We can determine this through historical evidence. The council house is clearly a traditional Indian structure even though Spaniards may have stayed there. Other areas, such as the Spanish village and Apalachee village discussed above, are not so clear. Apalachee leaders and elite had access to Spanish goods and would have had these goods in their homes. Many Spaniards, especially those who took Apalachee wives, had aboriginal ceramic cooking vessels. It is therefore difficult to ascertain whether a structure is Spanish or Apalachee without corresponding historical evidence. Some evidence is to be found in architectural styles. For example, at San Luis the church, convento, and blockhouse are all rectangular buildings. The houses in the so-called Spanish villages are also rectangular. The council house, on the other hand, is circular. McEwan associates rectangular structures with Spanish occupants, and circular structures with Indian occupants. That is one way to determine the inhabitants of a structure. Another way is to closely examine the artifacts found within the structure or feature, however, more work needs to be done in order to definitively tell whether a certain structure or feature is European or Indian.

Although imported olive jars were found throughout San Luis, they are found in higher concentrations in certain areas (Table 5.1). The highest concentration was in the church area, where 7283 olive jar sherds were found,
Figure 5.1: Areas tested (A, B & C) during the Apalachee village excavation with a close-up of Area B (redrawn after McEwan 1992: 7, 9)
making up 67.23 percent of the total ceramics (McEwan and Larsen 1996: Table 1). Fort San Luis also had a high percentage of olive jars (23.5 percent of the total ceramics) (McEwan and Poe 1994: 103). In the areas associated with the Apalachee ‘village’, however, the percentage of olive jars ranges from 8.62 to 0.0 percent. Feature 82, an Apalachee storage pit, contained only 15 olive jar sherds, making up 4.66 percent of the total ceramics (Figure 5.1). Feature 83, a small hearth, contained five olive jar sherds (8.62 percent of the total ceramics). Two olive jar sherds were recovered from Feature 86, a probable ceramic waster trash pit (0.2 percent of the total ceramics), and no olive jar sherds were recovered from Feature 88, a trash pit, thus 0.0 percent (McEwan 1992: 13, 15, 24, 29). The council house, which was mainly used by Apalachees but also housed both Spanish and Indian visitors, contained 37 olive jar sherds, comprising 0.56 percent of the total ceramics (Shapiro and McEwan 1992: 50, 54).

Table 5.1: Olive Jar Distribution at San Luis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area within San Luis</th>
<th>Number of Olive Jar Sherds</th>
<th>Total Ceramics Count</th>
<th>Percentage of Olive Jars in Total Ceramics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spanish Contexts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church Complex¹</td>
<td>7283</td>
<td>10833</td>
<td>67.23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Complex²</td>
<td>629</td>
<td>2680</td>
<td>23.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apalachee Contexts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feature 82 (storage pit)³</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>4.66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feature 83 (hearth)⁴</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>8.62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feature 86 (waster pit)⁵</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feature 88 (trash pit)⁶</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council House⁷</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>6561</td>
<td>0.56%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


53
Fig Springs (8Co1)

Fig Springs is a mission site located in Ichetucknee Springs State Park that contains a church, *convento*, cemetery, plaza, and mission village with aboriginal structures (Weisman 1993: 165). Fig Springs was inhabited by Timucua Indians during the mission period, but the identity of the mission remains unclear. It can possibly be identified with Santa Catalina de Afuerica or San Martín de Timucua (Weisman 1993: 171). The European ceramics recovered from the site suggest that the mission was in use before 1650. San Martin was destroyed in 1656 during the Timucua rebellion, while Santa Catalina was in use between 1675 and 1685, suggesting that San Martin is the correct identification (Weisman 1993: 172). Fig Springs was originally explored in 1949 by John Goggin, and was re-examined in 1988-89 by the Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research.

The church at Fig Springs was built of wooden planks and had a clay floor. The roof of the church was supported by 10 cm square wooden posts and covered an area roughly 10.5 m by 8 m (Weisman 1993: 173). Graves were discovered along the north wall of the church.

The *convento* was located northwest of the church. It was identified by groups of wrought nails in association with European and aboriginal ceramic sherds (Weisman 1993: 177). This area was partially disturbed due to natural erosion and tree falls, making the interpretation difficult.

An aboriginal structure was discovered at the south end of the mission village. It measured 9 m by 13 m and contained numerous artifacts and cultural materials (Weisman 1993: 179). Nineteen smudge pits filled with corn and 24 filled with wood cobs were located around the inside of the walls. Seven trash pits directly outside the north wall of the structure contained quantities of artifacts, including glass beads, hickory nut shells, animal bones, an iron awl and an iron chisel or knife (Weisman 1993: 181). Two oval shaped pits were also located outside the building’s north wall. Most of the artifacts found within these pits were burned, leading to an interpretation of cooking or roasting pits. The
artifacts include a large number of olive jar sherds, botanical remains, and animal bones (Weisman 1993: 184).

The olive jar distribution at Fig Springs is similar to that at San Luis and Patale, as discussed below. The areas associated with Spanish inhabitants, the church and convento, have the highest percentages of olive jar sherds within the total ceramics, 12.7 percent and 5.6 percent respectively (Table 5.2). The aboriginal structure and midden have a lower frequency of olive jars. Of the 3,201 ceramic fragments found in the aboriginal structure, only 76 (2.4 percent) were olive jar sherds. The midden contained 2.6 percent olive jars within the total number of ceramics (Weisman 1993: 176).

Table 5.2: Olive Jar Distribution at Fig Springs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area within Fig Springs</th>
<th>Number of Olive Jar Sherds</th>
<th>Total Ceramics Count</th>
<th>Percentage of Olive Jars in Total Ceramics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Spanish Contexts</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Convento</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>306</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Timucua Contexts</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aboriginal Structure</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>3201</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aboriginal Midden</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Weisman 1993: 176

Patale (8Le152)

The mission of San Pedro y San Pablo de Patale was located about 16 km east of San Luis. Patale was smaller than San Luis; it lacked a Spanish village and fort. Historical records indicate that in 1675, Patale had 500 inhabitants living in the mission village and the surrounding areas (Hann 1991b: 14). By 1675, however, the village of Patale was probably located somewhere else. Patale
was likely destroyed in an indigenous revolt in 1647 (Marrinan, personal communication 2009). The Patale site discussed in this section is the earlier location, and it is one of the earliest mission sites that has been excavated.

Excavations at Patale were first directed by B. Calvin Jones beginning in 1971, and then starting in 1984 by Rochelle Marrinan. Jones and his team identified four areas of the site, labeled A, B, C and D. These areas contained three or perhaps four wattle and daub structures. A clay floor was discovered in Area A in the initial investigations, but this was unfortunately disturbed by later construction (Jones 1991: 29). Area D contained the largest structure and has been interpreted as a church. Graves of 67 individuals were found within the structure (Jones 1991: 49). Area B contained the second largest structure, which, due to its nearness to the church and the Spanish artifacts found within, was interpreted as the *convento*. Area C is less well understood and contains a small structure thought to have been the *cocina* or kitchen (Jones and Scarry 1991: 129).

Rochelle Marrinan and the Department of Anthropology at Florida State University began investigations at Patale in 1984. A surface collection was done, as well as over 3500 subsurface tests. Marrinan and her team excavated three main areas between 1984 and 1992: the South Excavation Area, the Northeast Yard Excavation Area, and the Church Excavation Area (Marrinan 1993: 255). The investigations at the Church Excavation Area lead Marrinan to reinterpret Jones’s conclusions. The new data indicated that the two structures in Area D and Area B, which Jones interpreted as the church and the *convento*, were actually two parts of the same building (Marrinan 1993: 267). What Jones labeled as the *convento* is likely the sanctuary of the church where the altar was placed. Agricultural activities after the mission period created a linear disturbance across the church floor from east to west, essentially cutting it in two.

A structure was excavated in the South Excavation Area that may be an Apalachee council house. This building, labeled Structure 2, consisted of a double row of postmolds in a circular formation with a diameter of 12 m (Marrinan 1993: 259). Structure 2 pre-dates the mission period, and was likely abandoned before the mission period began (Marrinan 1993: 265).
The Northeast Yard Excavation Area revealed a large number of postmolds, however none of them has been associated with distinct structures (Marrinan 1993: 259). Feature 206/207, also discovered in the Northeast Yard, consisted of an intact burned clay floor (Feature 206), with a layer of concentrated burned clay and daub debris on top (Feature 207). Feature 206/207 was associated with several postpit features, which all together are labeled Structure 8. The interpretation of this structure is difficult, as it was disturbed by agricultural activities. It is likely a dwelling of some sort. Due to its rectangular shape, Bonnie McEwan associated this structure with the *convento*. Marrinan, however, disagrees with this interpretation due to the large amount of indigenous material (Marrinan, personal communication 2009). There is no conclusive way to distinguish an elite Apalachee residence from a Spanish residence. Although Structure 8 contained much indigenous material, it also contained more olive jar sherds than any other area excavated at Patale.

Ceramics, including olive jar fragments, were recovered from many different areas throughout the site. Similar to San Luis, the distribution of olive jar sherds is concentrated in areas associated with the Spanish residents of Patale, namely the church (Table 5.3). Unlike San Luis, Patale did not have a Spanish village or blockhouse, therefore Patale had many fewer Spanish ceramics than San Luis. One hundred olive jar sherds were found in the church area, comprising 0.075 percent of the total ceramics found in this area (Jones, Scarry and Williams 1991: 62, 71, 76). Although this is a very small percentage, it is larger than most other areas of the site, with the exception of Structure 8. Two ceramic scatters located near the church, Features 136 and 138, contained only one olive jar sherd between them. In the surface survey performed in 1984, no olive jar sherds were found, and only one olive jar sherd was found in the Northeast Yard outside of Feature 206/207 (Marrinan 1993: 270-1).

Feature 206/207 has the highest olive jar concentration by far, 25.3 percent. Unfortunately, it is unclear whether these features were part of a Spanish or Apalachee structure, so it is difficult to draw conclusions from these data. Patale is one of the earliest missions in Apalachee, so it might not follow the same
pattern as San Luis or other later missions (Jones and Scarry 1991: 1). The olive jar concentrations at San Luis and Fig Springs were highest in the Spanish areas (church, convento, and fort), so it would be consistent with these data if Structure 8 was a Spanish structure. However, this is merely speculation. It is also possible that Structure 8 was an elite Apalachee residence, and the olive jars were reused to store water, grains, or other food items. It is clear that the second-highest concentration of olive jars is in the church area, which is a Spanish context.

Table 5.3: Olive Jar Distribution at Patale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area Within Patale</th>
<th>Number of Olive Jar Sherds</th>
<th>Total Ceramics Count</th>
<th>Percentage of Olive Jars in Total Ceramics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Spanish Contexts</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church Area (Areas B and C)¹</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>13285</td>
<td>0.75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feature 136 (ceramic scatter)²</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1441</td>
<td>&gt;0.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feature 138 (ceramic scatter)²</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>766</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Apalachee Contexts</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984 Surface Collection²</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8045</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northeast Yard²</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1473</td>
<td>&gt;0.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unclear Contexts</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feature 206³</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feature 207³</td>
<td>351</td>
<td>1341</td>
<td>26.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ¹Jones, Scarry and Williams 1991: 62, 71, 76; ²Marrinan 1993: 270-1; ³Marrinan, personal communication

Calusa Alcohol Consumption

The Calusas were a Florida Indian group who were never successfully converted to Christianity by the Spanish. The Calusa territory was in southwest Florida, further away from the capital of St. Augustine than the Guales, Timucuas, or Apalachees. They were not an agricultural society, but instead obtained the
bulk of their subsistence from the sea. They occupied semi-sedentary villages along the coast (Bushnell 2004: 155). The first attempt to convert the Calusa, made by Jesuits in 1567, ended in failure after four years. Unlike the northern Apalachees, Guales and Timucuas, who were sedentary agriculturalists, the Calusas remained partially mobile and this allowed them to leave the missions behind (Lopez-Jordan 2008: 63). The agricultural Indians of Northern Florida were a source of food for Spanish missionaries, but the Calusas had no interest in adopting farming and sedentary life. Instead of providing food for the missionaries, the Calusas wanted the missionaries to provide food and drink for them (Lopez-Jordan 2008: 63). According to the Jesuit missionary Father Juan Rogel “they learned the prayers well while the handouts lasted and they were already beginning to believe the things I was telling them. But when the handouts ended, they all took off” (Hann 1991a: 239). The Calusas were not interested in changing their belief system, and so the Jesuits left Calusa territory.

Over a century later, in 1697, the cacique requested that Franciscan friars come to Calusa territory to convert and baptize (Lopez-Jordan 2008: 6). This attempt was even briefer. When the Calusas discovered that the gifts of food and rum from the Franciscans would not continue, they became hostile, forcing the three friars to flee by canoes to Key West (Hann 2003: 178). While the friars spent a night alone on the beach, several Calusas stole their supplies, including jugs of wine. The Calusas drank the wine and became inebriated (Hann 1991a: 198). Juan Esteva, a servant of the friars, testified that “in pursuing their voyage in the said canoes by way of lagoons that extend between the keys, they [the friars] slept on a beach the first night and that on that night the Indians who came in the canoe opened a jar of wine and made themselves drunk” (Hann 1991a: 198).

This was not the first time Calusas were exposed to European alcohol. Alcohol was introduced by at least 1566, but perhaps even earlier due to the many European ships that were wrecked on the shores of their territory. In 1566, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés anchored his ship off the shore of Calusa territory. He requested an audience with the leader, Escampaba, offering gifts for him and his
wives. These gifts included clothes, food, gold, silver, and wine. Escampaba so enjoyed the food and wine that he asked for more, at which point Menéndez de Avilés invited him aboard his ship (Lopez-Jordan 2008: 65). Bartolome Barrientos, Menéndez de Avilés’ biographer, wrote of the encounter: “The Indian chiefs were all given numerous presents and clothes; biscuit, honey, and wine were brought for all of them, which they enjoyed very much […] He [Escampaba] asked Menéndez de Avilés for more food and wine” (Barrientos 1965 [1567]: 83).

Calusa territory included the southwestern Florida coastline. Vessels coming from Spain loaded with supplies of food, weapons, and wine, as well as vessels coming from New Spain loaded with precious metals, were lost to the rough waters and dangerous Key coastlines. The Calusas salvaged many goods that washed ashore from these wrecks (Milanich 1995: 41). Many survivors of shipwrecks were stranded in Calusa territory beginning in the sixteenth century (Barrientos 1965 [1567]: 82). The Alana report of 1743 relates that the Calusas had extensive access to alcohol through frequent shipwrecks (Hann 2003: 57). Alana notes “The rum that the Indians may acquire from the vessels that perish annually in the keys and on the coast of Florida […] they drink until they burst” (trans. in Hann 1991a: 427). It is very possible that the Calusa had access to alcohol from shipwrecks beginning in the sixteenth century, even before Europeans themselves reached Florida, and continuing into the eighteenth century.

In 1696, Jonathan Dickinson, an English Quaker, left his plantation in Jamaica and sailed for Philadelphia with his family and some slaves. Their ship, the Reformation, was wrecked on the southeast shore of Florida. Everyone on board survived the wreck, and Dickinson and his party made their way north through St. Augustine, Charles Town and eventually to Philadelphia. Dickinson recorded their encounters with various Indian groups and Spaniards in a journal that was initially published in 1699.

Dickinson and his party came into contact with Indians almost immediately after the shipwreck. Though Dickinson referred to all the Indian groups he encountered simply as “Indians,” this particular group was later
identified as Hobe Indians, possibly related to Ais or Tequesta Indian groups (Andrews and Andrews 1945: 149). Upon contact, the Hobes began salvaging whatever goods they could from the wrecked ship, and even took the clothes off the back of several Englishmen. Wrote Dickinson:

The Indians went all to the vessel, taking forth whatever they could lay hold on, except rum, sugar, molasses, beef and pork. […]

Having got all the goods out of the vessel and covered the bay for a large distance, opened all the stuffs and linens and spread them to dry, they would touch no sort of strong drink, sugar, nor molasses, but left it in the vessel [Andrews and Andrews (eds.) 1945: 29, 31].

It is very strange that the Hobes would take almost everything from the ship except the rum, sugar, molasses, beef and pork. Jerald Milanich suggests that perhaps the Hobes left these valuable commodities for another more powerful chief, such as the nearby Ais Indian chief (Milanich 1995: 58). This theory is supported by Dickinson’s later encounter with the Ais on in his journey. When the Ais chief learned of the shipwreck, he immediately went to claim his share of the goods. The Ais were a coastal central Florida Indian group who were not successfully converted to Christianity. They lived outside the Spanish sphere of power in La Florida, but they were under the control of the Calusa Indians of Southern Florida (Milanich 1995: 66). It is likely that the Ais, like the Calusas, consumed alcohol when it was available to them from shipwrecks such as the one described by Dickinson.

In summary, Calusa chiefs were exposed to alcohol as early as 1566, possibly even earlier, and likely had access to alcohol throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries from shipwrecks. When alcohol was present among the Calusas, it was consumed until drunkenness, as shown by the testimony of Juan Esteva for the second failed missionary effort in 1697. Indian groups subject to the Calusas, such as the Ais, likely consumed alcohol as well. Calusa territory was far from the central Spanish power at St. Augustine, and it never fell under
the grasp of the missionaries. This lack of Spanish influence and control allowed
the Calusas much more freedom than the converted Indians, including the
freedom to consume alcohol to drunkenness.

Consumption of Alcohol Among Indians Allied with the English

Historical Evidence

As late as 1670, Indians in Carolina were unexposed to alcohol. Maurice
Mathews was among the very first settlers in Charles Town, and became a
prominent Carolina resident. He left England in 1669, and upon reaching
Carolina via the Ashley River he dined with Indians. Mathews wrote of the meal,
“Here we had nuts and root cakes, […] and watter [sic] to drink for they use no
other lickquor as I can learne in this country” (Salley 1911: 118). The
establishment of Carolina led to trade with southeastern Indian groups, and soon
many of these groups had adopted alcohol consumption. Thomas Ashe, who
visited Charles Town between 1680 and 1682, described the Indians of Carolina
as “Lovers of the Spirits of Wine and Sugar” (Salley 1911: 157).

The English had greater access to trade goods than Spanish colonists. A
good relationship with Barbados meant that rum was widely available to English
colonists and traders (Bowne 2005: 12-13). Some Indian groups, such as the
Creeks and Yamassees, had previously been allied or in trade relationships with
the Spanish, but they found the lure of English goods more enticing than the
limited Spanish goods. In Virginia, it was illegal to trade alcohol to Indian
groups, but no such restrictions existed in Carolina.

Trade was very important to English colonists, and some traders went to
great lengths to ensure trade deals because the market was so saturated with
deals forced upon inebriated Indians by manipulative English traders (Braund
2008: 104). In fact, instruction to prospective traders in Carolina encouraged this
behavior, advising, “sometimes you may with Brandy or Strong liquor dispose
them to an humor of giving you ten times the value of your Commodities”
(Courtenay 1907: 175 quoted in Mason 2005: 19).

Traders were happy to deal in rum, as it was easily and cheaply acquired
and could be watered down to last longer and gain even more profit. In addition,
one Creeks started drinking they did not want to stop, and the drunker they got,
the more they would pay for more rum (Braund 2008: 105). Unscrupulous
English traders often waited in the woods for tired Indians returning from their
hunts. They would persuade them to part with all their skins, sometimes even
their firearms, for rum. When the Indians awoke, all they were left with was a
hangover (Braund 2008: 106). Some young hunters were so impatient for rum
that after killing a deer they would skin the body and leave the useful, consumable
meat behind in their haste (Braund 2008: 69). This venison, smoked and
preserved, was relied upon by the elderly and infirm people left behind in villages
each winter while the hunters and their families were away.

During the late seventeenth century, many Indian groups living in what
would become Carolina went through great cultural changes. They selectively
adopted European goods and practices and adapted some European goods for
aboriginal purposes (Waselkov 1994: 194). Many different linguistically
discrete Indian groups united into what the English called the Creek Confederacy,
gradually moving towards a consistent and more homogenous material culture
consisting of Guntersville points, stone and ceramic pipes (now in the European
style), and marine shell ornaments. Even ceramic vessel forms, which were
previously widely variable, became simplified; by the mid-eighteenth century
only cooking jars and truncated bowls in a range of sizes were used. These
objects were broadly dispersed across the southeastern United States during the
late seventeenth century and represented a marked change from the earlier
diversity of material culture (Waselkov 1994: 194). This regularity of material
culture is likely due to the increased movement of people - whether from
population migration, war captives and slaves, or hunters travelling farther and
farther to get deer - there was much more contact between different groups (Waselkov 1994: 194).

Other changes affecting Indians occurred in the late seventeenth century. Europeans brought many diseases to the New World to which Indians had never been exposed and thus lacked immunity. Widespread epidemic diseases greatly decreased the native population of the Southeast (Galgano 2003: 13). Although the Spanish had been present in La Florida for over a century, it was not until the English entered the area that foreign diseases became widespread in the Southeast. This was due to a combination of factors. English traders introduced firearms to Indians, and the constant need for more powder and shot required a continuous relationship between Indians and foreign traders (Kelton 2007: 105).

In addition, English traders created a huge market for deerskins, causing many Indians to focus their hunting efforts on obtaining deerskins. Many men stopped agricultural labor in order to hunt more. This effectively increased the deer population, as deer regained habitats that had been used as fields for crops (Waselkov 1994: 195). Hunters and their families were away from their villages for longer and longer each winter, and each year more men became hunters (Braund 2008: 67). It was the duty of the hunter’s wife to clean and dress the deerskin, which made it more durable and thus more valuable for trade. Younger men without wives to dress their deerskins often had to trade with unlicensed traders and they mainly obtained rum (Braund 2008: 68).

The English demand for deerskins also led to changes in domestic architecture. There was a shift from semi-subterranean houses used to keep warm in the winter to ground level houses with living and storage spaces. Hunters and their families were away from their villages throughout the long winter hunt, so there was no need to build the labor-intensive winter homes. Increased deer hunting required large storage spaces for the deerskins, a need that was met by the above ground houses (Waselkov 1994: 195).

The deerskin and slave trade greatly affected the way of life of Indian groups in the Southeast. Many Indian groups who were agricultural shifted their subsistence strategies, either because slave raids interrupted their farming or
because they became full-time deer hunters. This change in subsistence strategy, along with the fact that the English often demanded tribute in the form of food, led many Indians to become malnourished and thus extremely susceptible to foreign disease (Kelton 2007: xx).

The English demand for slaves led some Indian groups, such as the Westos, to become slave raiders, while other Indian groups became victims of these raids. Eric Bowne (2005: 8) wrote of this time: “How unbearable it must have been to go about your livelihood if your neighbor two miles away was willing to capture you and sell you as a slave.” The introduction of European alcohol to Indian groups who had never been exposed to alcohol, especially at this unpredictable and unstable time period, led many Indians to abuse alcohol. Alcohol provided a means to escape an unfamiliar and possibly unhappy reality.

Because alcohol was a recent introduction, during the colonial period Creek and Yamassee Indians had no social restrictions on alcohol consumption. This led to overconsumption and many other deleterious effects. The Creeks did not consume alcohol in a ceremonial context, but instead became drunk in order to have a good time. Creek purifications rituals generally involved consumption of cacina, fasting and sweating (Braund 2008: 125). Cacina, when prepared with very hot water, has a high caffeine content, and when it was consumed rapidly in great quantities it acted as an emetic. These ritual activities, which have a sobering effect, are almost the complete opposite of alcohol consumption. The ritual activities were about controlling behavior. No food was consumed and the only beverage was cacina. Consuming alcohol, on the other hand, was about losing control (Braund 2008: 126).

While inebriated, Creek Indians broke social taboos. They sang, danced, had orgies, and even committed murder (Braund 2008: 126). Many historical sources complain of the disruptive behavior of drunken Indians. In 1707, John Archdale, a former Governor of South Carolina (1695-6), recorded such an incident that occurred during his Governorship in a pamphlet describing South Carolina:
Two Indians in drinking Rum quarelled, [sic] and the one of these presently kill’d the other; his Wife being by, immediately, with a Knife, smote off his Testicles, so as they hung only by a Skin […] he was ordered to be shot by the Kinsman of the murthered Indian. Before he went to Execution, the Indian King to whom he belonged, told him, that since he was to die, he would have him to die like a Man: and farther he said, ‘I have often forewarn’d you of Rum, and now you must lose your Life for not taking my council’ [Salley 1911: 289-290].

Georgia surveyor William DeBrahm wrote that the Indians

Love strong Liquors, especially Rum or Brandy, at all times, which they prefer to anything in the World, and this is the only Commodity, for which they exchange their Horses; but great Care must be taken that, after they have consumed the Liquor, they don’t steal and carry off the Horse; this is the only Theft they are known to be guilty of, which besides the Crime of the Lie, Knavery and Drunkenness were not known to them, before the Europeans arrival in America” [De Vorsey 1971: 108].

The Board of Commissioners for the Better Regulation of the Indian Trade in Carolina heard grievances from Indians, often involving the rum trade. Many Indian leaders tried to ban the alcohol trade, but to no avail. One such Yamassee leader asked the Commissioners to restrict rum traders, however the Board responded with this: “Mr. President also acquainted the said Indians that itt [sic] was impossible att this Distance wholly to restraine the Traders from carrying up Rum and advised them to lay what Restraint they could upon their People to prevent their buying Rum from the Traders” (McDowell 1992: 11).
Archaeological Evidence

A trading house has been excavated at a site in Macon, Georgia that has been identified as either the Creek village of Ocmulgee or Kasihta (Waselkov 1994: 192). Whatever the name of the village, it is clear that this site was home to Creek Indians in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. It is likely that this site was built in the 1690s after the Creeks moved from Spanish territory in order to trade freely with the English. This conclusion is reinforced by the very small amount of Spanish goods recovered from the site as compared to earlier Creek sites (Waselkov 1994: 195). Almost all of the European goods at the site are of English origin. The trading house consisted of a wooden enclosure, likely made of vertically-placed logs, within which was present at least one, but possibly several, small cabins (Mason 2005: 46). The artifacts from this site include 77 glass bottle sherd. These sherd are dark green glass, and likely came from rum and/or wine bottles of the onion bottle shape. Among the sherd includes several long thin neck pieces and a hollow basal sherd (Mason 2005: 102). Located next to the trading house was a trading path. This site is the type of site where Indians allied with the English obtained their trade goods, including alcohol.

Tukabatchee was a town located near Tallassee, Alabama that was inhabited almost continuously from around 1400 until the eighteenth century. It became a political center for the Creeks during the eighteenth century (Knight 1985: 28). Tukabatchee was about 550 km from Charles Town. Vernon James Knight and the University of Alabama began work at the site in 1983. They performed surface surveys and then excavated five units. The excavated materials came from two different time periods, the Atasi phase and the Tallapoosa phase. The phases are differentiated by ceramics (Knight 1985: 23). The Atasi phase at Tukabatchee dates from roughly 1630 to 1650 and the Tallapoosa phase dates to around 1750 to 1800. Therefore, the Atasi phase dates to before the founding of Charles Town. There was a small amount of European goods found in Unit C, which dated to the Atasi phase. These goods likely originated in the Spanish missions, with converted Indians acting as middlemen. These goods include:
glass beads, brass beads and pendants, and four fragments of container glass (Knight 1985: 106).

Units D and E date to the Tallapoosa phase which was after the founding of Charles Town. There were many more European goods in this phase than in the Atasi phase. These goods were of English origin and included: glass beads, iron, gun parts, ammunition, construction materials, kaolin pipes, and brass items (Knight 1985: 130-133). There was also a large amount of container glass fragments. These glass containers mainly contained alcohol, probably wine and brandy (rum was generally stored in wooden casks) (Knight 1985: 118, 123). In Unit D there were 125 container glass fragments, and in Unit E there were 69 container glass fragments (Knight 1985: 130, 132). This is a marked increase from the four container glass pieces found in Unit C, which dates to before the founding of Charles Town (Table 5.4). It is clear that after the founding of Charles Town, artifacts associated with alcohol consumption increased at Tukabatchee.

Table 5.4 Container Glass Found at Tukabatchee

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Excavation Area</th>
<th>Artifact Type</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Atasi Phase (Ca. 1630-1650)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unit C</td>
<td>Green container glass fragments</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Light green container glass fragment</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tallapoosa Phase (Ca. 1750-1800)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unit D</td>
<td>Dark green container glass fragments</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Blue green container glass fragments</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Green bottle neck with string rim</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unit E</td>
<td>Green case bottle fragment</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dark green container glass fragments</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Light green container glass fragment</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Knight 1985: 106, 130, 132
Summary

The English colonial strategy is exemplified by their treatment of the Yamassee Indians after Queen Anne’s War. During the war, the English needed allies against the Spanish, and traders offered alcohol, firearms, and other goods to the Yamassee on credit. After the war was over, and allies were no longer necessary, the traders demanded immediate payment. When the Yamassee could not pay, their wives and children were enslaved by the English. In 1715, the Yamassee people were forced to turn to the Spanish at St. Augustine, their former enemies, for help (Tepaske 1964: 178). In the 1756 El Grinan report, the Yamassee are described thus:

In the environs of Florida […] there are five small villages of Christian Indians from the Yamassee Nation that are inhabited by up to one hundred families. […] They use most of their time to hunt, for which they have more inclination, and also to wage war. They are brave, but greatly inclined to inebriety, consuming in this vice whatever they earn from their hunting and even from the fruits of their sowing [Scardaville and Belmonte 1979: 11].

It seems that the Yamassee became accustomed to consuming alcohol, and continued to do so even after becoming Christians and moving to Spanish territory. The English took advantage of the Yamassee, got them addicted to alcohol, and when the Yamassee were no longer of use to them, they abandoned them and stole their wives and children. These events show the willingness of the English to use and manipulate Native groups, and their lack of empathy towards them.
CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Reconsidering Acculturation

I shall now return to the concept of acculturation, which was discussed in Chapter two. Now that I have outlined Indian cultures before and after contact, as well as the colonial strategies used by the Spanish and the English, it is reasonable to use the acculturation concept to further interpret this information. Although acculturation has many critics, there are some useful ideas that come out of acculturation theory, including Foster’s “conquest culture,” and Spicer’s “directed” and “nondirected” contact.

In *Culture and Conquest*, Foster (1960) recognized that contact situations are influenced both by interaction among large groups of people, as well as the background policies and other variables such as distance and demography (Cusick 1998: 137). Another useful idea is the concept of “directed” and “nondirected” culture contact. According to Edward Spicer (1961: 520), directed contact “involves interaction…between members of two different societies and effective control of some type and degree by members of one society over members of the other,” while in nondirected contact “there is interaction between members of the different societies…but there is no control of one society’s members by the other.”

Foster’s theory of a conquest culture took into consideration the fact that two cultural wholes can never come into full contact with one another. There is always some sort of filtering process, whether from royal policy or demography.
When the Spaniards came to Florida to convert Indians, they purposefully focused on certain aspects of their culture, particularly religion. The Spanish Crown refused to send anyone to Florida who was of “suspect orthodoxy,” including officials, servants, and even slaves (Bushnell 1981: 34). The Spaniards wanted to present to the Indians an ideal culture that would set a good example for those they wished to convert. This conquest culture in some areas, such as La Florida, also included a diminished emphasis on alcohol consumption. Alcohol consumption, particularly wine, was a staple of the Spanish diet, but the Spaniards in Florida urged Indians to refrain from drinking, possibly because they had witnessed firsthand the deleterious effects elsewhere in the New World.

Based on Spicer’s definitions of directed and nondirected contact, it seems that in the southeast, Spanish-Indian contact was nondirected, while English-Indian contact was directed. In nondirected contact, the two cultures are relatively equal in that there is not control of one society over the other. Although the Spaniards in Florida believed they had control over the missionized Indians, this does not seem to be supported by historical or archaeological evidence. Missionaries converted Indians, changing their religious beliefs, while governors and soldiers required Indians to produce and carry food to St. Augustine as part of the labor drafts. The Spaniards, however, were dependent upon Indians for food. Ships carrying supplies from Spain and New Spain (Mexico) were irregular at best, and new crops such as wheat that were introduced to Florida did not fare well. Spaniards had to adopt the Indian diet that was based on corn. Spaniards also adopted the Indian drink of cacina. When the Spaniards demanded too much of the Indians, the Indians did not passively accept Spanish rule, but instead revolted numerous times. Native leaders for the most part retained their political power; Spaniards even reinforced traditional succession by giving a political position to the nephew heir of the chief (Hann and McEwan 1998: 15).

The English-Indian interaction, on the other hand, was a directed contact situation. Although the English never conquered the Indians or had direct rule over them, they controlled their lives through economic means. The English were much better supplied than their Spanish counterparts by the many ships that
brought food and goods. The English entered into trade relationships with Indian groups that soon caused them to become reliant on English goods. The English supplied Indians with guns, and received in return deerskins and slaves. In order for the Indians to continue hunting deer and slaves, they needed more gunpowder and ammunition from the English traders. The episodic contact between English traders and Indians resulted in much more culture change than did the long term contact of Indians living in Spanish mission villages. Indians who traded with the English changed their way of life significantly to focus on hunting deer and slaves. These changes were a direct result of the English strategy of economic control.

John Worth (2006) revisited the acculturation concept, questioning its utility in archaeological contexts. Worth focused less on the assimilation and transmission of cultural traits; he instead saw the changes that occur after contact as internal cultural changes due to the changing environment (political, social and natural) (Worth 2006: 199). This is a different way of looking at culture contact. Indians in the Southeast did not simply adopt European material culture, beliefs, and behavior. They adapted to new circumstances and conditions that were created by shifting political power, new economic and subsistence strategies based on trade with Europeans (which focused on deer skins and slaves), and the introduction of new goods such as firearms and alcohol.

Worth (2006: 199) also argued that while acculturation models predict that cultures in contact for longer periods of time will show greater assimilation and adoption of foreign goods and practices, this does not hold true in many cases. The mission Indians of Spanish La Florida were in contact with the Spanish for over a hundred years, yet they retained many of their original cultural traits. Although mission Indians did adopt the Spanish religion of Catholicism, in many ways their lives were similar to pre-contact Indians in northern Florida. Before and after contact the Timucua, Guale and Apalachee Indians were farmers focusing on corn, hunting and gathering supplementary wild foods. The Spaniards introduced new domesticates, such as oranges, wheat, peaches, swine, chickens, and cattle, as well as new agricultural methods, but their subsistence
base remained agrarian. The matrilineal political system of the mission Indians was largely unaffected by the Spanish missionaries, who only insisted that they become monogamous. The traditional Indian leader was in charge of most secular matters. The traditional ball game continued to be played until it was deemed “un-Christian” in 1677; the traditional drink cacina was still consumed by Indian men, and it was even adopted by many Spanish friars (Bushnell 1978: 17; Hann 1988: 130).

On the other hand, Indians in the interior who became allies of the English experienced much greater cultural change than did the mission Indians. Mission Indians were in contact with the Spanish more frequently than the Creeks and Yamasses were in contact with the English. Mission Indians in outlying missions came into contact with only one Spaniard a day, the local friar; Indians in larger missions such as San Luis, which housed Spanish soldiers and citizens, came into contact with Spaniards much more often. Creeks and Yamasses had episodic contact with European traders. Although this trade was long distance, it greatly affected the political and economic environment of the Creeks and Yamasses. As discussed above, the deerskin trade caused many Indians to focus their hunting efforts only on deer, changing the daily and long-term schedule of their lives. The introduction of firearms (which were initially forbidden to mission Indians) greatly changed the hunting styles of the Indians, and changed the balance of power among native groups. The English need for slaves also greatly affected the lives of Indians in the Southeast. Some became slave raiders, while others were in danger of becoming enslaved. Both deer hunters and slave raiders became highly nomadic, and relied very little on farming (Worth 2006: 203).

Although the mission Indians of Florida seemed to have fundamentally changed their culture in becoming Catholics, in many ways they were able to retain their own ways of life and merely incorporate European goods and ideas into their own culture. The English-allied Indians of Carolina, although perhaps retaining their own religious beliefs, saw much greater change in their daily life. This new environment of firearms, slave raids, epidemic diseases, and the focus
on deer hunting resulted in systemic cultural changes among these Indian groups. Significant among these changes was the adoption of alcohol consumption. Alcohol could have been consumed in celebration at the newfound wealth to be had from trading slaves and deerskins. Conversely, alcohol could be consumed to escape this unfamiliar, and perhaps frightening, world in which your neighbor might well enslave you or your family and send you off to Barbados.

Gender

Creek Women

In traditional Creek society women were not equal to Creek men. As mentioned above, Creek women who committed adultery faced a much harsher punishment than did men (Sattler 1995: 218). When a Creek woman was widowed, she was kept secluded and unkempt by her deceased husband’s family for up to four years. After this period, the widow was offered to a relative of her deceased husband. The new couple was required to spend a night together to determine whether this new match was acceptable. Either person could refuse the marriage. If the marriage was not accepted, the widow was considered unmarried and regained sexual freedoms. Women could divorce their husbands, but they did not regain all of their previous unmarried freedoms until the next Green Corn Ceremony that was held each July (Sattler 1995: 218). Thus Creek men held tight control over female sexual freedoms.

Creek men and women often led very separate lives. Women spent their time together in the fields, or gathering and preparing food, or watching the children while men were often away hunting. There were also forced separations, such as when a woman was menstruating. During menses, women stayed away from men, ate from separate dishes, and sat on separate mats; afterwards a ritual bath was necessary before any contact with men (Bell 1990: 333).

After European contact, this pattern changed slightly due to the increased demand for deerskins. Instead of living in villages and cultivating their crops for
much of the year, Creek men spent more and more of their time as nomadic deer
hunters. Women previously relied on their extended family for help with child
rearing and food preparation. Men generally hunted on their traditional lands, not
those of their wives’ family. Thus, matrilocal residence was disrupted, and the
nuclear family became the most important unit instead of the matrilineal line and
extended family (Braund 2008: 68). Women were required to do more work on
their own. In addition to watching the children and gathering and preparing food
to eat, women were also responsible for the butchering, cleaning and dressing of
the deerskins. This task was necessary to prepare the skins for trade to the
English, but was very time-consuming (Braund 2008: 68). Skins that were not
dressed, or that were poorly dressed, attracted maggots and worms and became
malodorous. These skins could still be traded to the English, but men with
undressed hides were often forced to deal with unlicensed traders, and received
fewer goods in return. These unlicensed traders frequently only traded in rum
instead of the more useful goods such as gunpowder, ammunition, or cloth.

Thus, women became more valuable to men after European contact. Men
with wives to dress their hides were able to trade more skins for more goods,
while unmarried men received fewer goods, and usually only rum. Before
contact, men and women led very separate lives; afterward they were forced to be
in much closer contact and to work together in nuclear family groups to produce
skins for trade.

It is interesting to note that in all of the historical records that describe
English-allied Indians abusing alcohol, men are featured heavily. The records of
Calusa alcohol consumption also indicate that men consumed alcohol, while
women are not mentioned. Although this discrepancy could be due to the fact
that Indian men are more likely to feature in the historical record than Indian
women, it seems that Indian men consumed alcohol in greater amounts and with
greater frequency than did Indian women.

The only anecdote I found that features Indian women and alcohol dates to
around 1775, when Quaker botanist William Bartram observed Seminole warriors
preparing for a war against the Choctaws. Forty warriors, along with English
traders and some women, consumed 20 kegs of rum. The men asked the women to drink with them. The women pretended to join the party, but instead of actually drinking the rum they took into their mouth, they secretly spat the rum into a bottle hidden in their clothes. After all the kegs had run out, the women proceeded to sell the warriors the rum they had collected (Braund 2008: 77).

In this situation, the women used alcohol not for enjoyment or for escape. Instead they used alcohol, plus the dependence of men upon it, for financial gain. Women without husbands, or those whose husbands used their deerskins to obtain alcohol, must have used their wits and taken advantage of opportunities such as this. Men, on the other hand, used alcohol as a release, to escape everyday life. Alcohol caused men to lose wealth, not to gain it.

Men were the ones who came into contact with the European traders, while women dealt with domestic issues such as food gathering and preparation, raising children, and dressing the deerskins. The different roles of men and women with regard to European contact are visible in the archaeological record. Artifact assemblages associated with men changed greatly after European contact; traditional items were replaced by European goods. Artifacts associated with women, however, remained relatively unchanged (Deagan 1998: 31).

Some Creek women became involved sexually with European traders, and this provided another way to gain wealth. Unmarried Creek women had many sexual freedoms and were not looked down upon for developing relationships with traders or even for becoming prostitutes (Braund 2008: 78). Many traders married Creek women and had mixed-blood children. These alliances gave them advantages, such as support from Creek leaders, and a number of guaranteed customers (Perdue 2006: 168). Indian wives helped traders learn the Creek language and customs, and provided food for them. Wives of traders also benefitted from the marriage, as it gave them power and status along with increased access to European goods. Creek wives of traders were often consulted by Creek leaders when making foreign-relations decisions (Braund 2008: 84).
The Apalachees, Timucuas, and Guales were all matrilineal and matrilocal societies. They also all had some sort of gender-based division of labor. Apalachee women, much like Creek women, were responsible for raising children (Hann 1988: 70). They also made pottery and gathered and prepared food. Men hunted, fished, prepared the fields, and constructed buildings and tools (Hann and McEwan 1998: 18).

While Apalachee women were unable to become leaders, there were some Timucua and Guale women who rose to the status of chief (Hann and McEwan 1998: 15; Milanich 1999: 46). Timucua women were generally banned from the council house except when the leader was a woman. Even when a woman was chief, however, according to Fray Alonso de Jesus, “she sits alone on her seat (barbacoa) and the rest of the women separated from the men” (Hann 1993a: 95). Timucua women were responsible for brewing the cacina that the men drank in the council house (Hann 1996: 26).

At San Luis some Apalachee women married Spanish men and lived with them in the Spanish village (Hann and McEwan 1998: 111). Timucua women also married Spanish soldiers, and some of these women were quite proud of their husbands (Hann 1993: 322).

During the mission period, women generally retained their traditional roles. Men were often required to travel to St. Augustine as part of the labor draft. This left the women with more responsibilities, such as preparing the fields for crops. Some mission women also became responsible for taking care of the resident friar by washing his clothes, tending his garden, and preparing his food (Hann and McEwan 1998: 90). For the most part, mission Indian women continued to raise children, work in the fields and their gardens, and gather and prepare food.
Conclusion

In summary, I shall return to the questions posed in the introduction of this thesis. First, how does the adoption of alcohol consumption by certain Indian groups fit within the larger framework of acculturation? Alcohol is just one of the many goods and ideas introduced to the New World by Europeans. It is interesting to study alcohol use from the acculturation perspective, because it was adopted differentially by the various groups. As previously discussed, it seems that the differential adoption of alcohol stemmed from different colonial strategies used by the Spanish and the English. These distinct colonial strategies led to different kinds of acculturation: nondirected in Spanish-Indian contact, and directed in English-Indian contact. Indians allied with the Spanish retained many of their previous ways of life, while Indians allied with the English experienced dramatic changes. These changes included emphasis on the deerskin trade that necessitated abandoning a settled farming life for that of a nomadic hunter. The slave trade, in which groups preyed on their neighbors and other indigenous groups for profit, resulted in systemic societal disruption and Indian participation in an economic system where they quickly became dependant on interaction with Europeans for the acquisition of needed goods (firearms, and ammunition, cloth, tools and paint). In addition, changes in gender relationships resulted in a new emphasis on the nuclear family rather than the supportive relationships of extended families.

On the other hand, the Indians living in Spanish missions, while converted to Christianity, saw very few changes in their daily life. Many aspects of life remained the same, including the lack of alcohol consumption. In addition, the conquest culture the Spaniards presented to the mission Indians was a Christian life that explicitly deemphasized alcohol consumption. These two factors resulted in the lack of drinking among mission Indians.

This leads us to question two: Was there a policy restricting mission Indians from consuming alcohol? If so, why? I was unable to find historical evidence that there was an explicit Spanish policy banning alcohol consumption.
I also did not find historical evidence of an explicit ban on trading or giving alcohol to Indians (as there was with firearms). However, it does seem that providing alcohol to Indians was frowned upon (Weber 1992: 143, 230). Diego de Leturiondo, while visiting Timucua Indians at Machava in 1678, asked them to refrain from drinking wine as it offended God (Hann 1996: 255). The Spanish created a conquest culture that stressed refraining from alcohol. Thus, we can rephrase the question: why did the Spanish create a conquest culture in Florida that deemphasized alcohol consumption? When the Spanish entered Mexico, this was not the case. In fact, there is evidence that Spaniards used alcohol to their advantage during the initial contact in Mexico. Montezuma, the Aztec ruler, sent envoys to the Spanish ships bearing gifts of chocolate. The Spanish gave these Indians food and wine in return. The Indians became so inebriated that they had to spend the night on the Spanish ship (Durán 1880: 8; Kelly 1992: 25-26). Wine was also later presented to Montezuma. Similarly, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés presented wine and food to Escampaba, the ruler of the Calusas (Lopez-Jordan 2008: 65). We do not, to date, have any documentary evidence of Spaniards giving wine to Apalachees, Timucuas or Guales.

As mentioned above, Father Oré compared Florida Indians to those of New Spain (now Mexico) and Peru. According to his writings, the native peoples of Mexico and Peru were prone to drunkenness - in great contrast to the sober Indians of Florida (Oré 1936: 44). It is likely that the Spaniards in Florida were aware of this problem in New Spain, and therefore tried to prevent this from occurring in Florida.

Third, did mission Indians have access to alcohol, and if so, in what context? Based on the evidence described above, the answer to this question is yes. The scale of their access is uncertain, but it seems clear that mission Indians could have obtained alcohol if they were so inclined. Spaniards living in La Florida consumed alcohol, when it was available, as part of their everyday routine. Mission Indians came into contact with alcohol while participating in trade. As mentioned above, some elite Apalachees owned cattle ranches.
(Milanich 1999: 155). These affluent Indians could have easily afforded the purchase of alcohol, just as their Spanish counterparts did, yet they refrained.

Fourth, among Indian groups that did consume alcohol, did all individuals partake? Did males consume alcohol more frequently than females? From historical sources, it seems that no, not all members of Indian groups that consumed alcohol did partake in drinking. Often Indian leaders refrained from consuming alcohol, and urged others in their groups to do the same. One Yamassee leader implored the Board of Commissioners for the Better Regulation of the Indian Trade in Carolina to ban the rum trade, to no avail (McDowell 1992: 11). While many Creek men traded their deerskins for rum, there were many others who traded for goods such as gunpowder, shot, cloth, and paint (Braund 2008: 68).

It is likely that men had greater access to alcohol than women. Men were the hunters who obtained deerskins and slaves, and they were the ones who interacted directly with European traders. Many women assisted their husbands by dressing the deerskins, but it was often the men who lacked wives who traded their undressed deerskins for alcohol (Braund 2008: 68). Men who had wives to help them were more likely to trade with licensed traders, and to obtain other goods such as cloth, paint, powder and shot. Men needed to stay in contact with European traders to renew their supplies of gun powder and ammunition that were necessary for hunting. European goods were not required for the work of women, although many women certainly enjoyed the luxury of pre-made European cloth. This material became necessary as hide availability for domestic use declined.

Question number five: is there a relationship between the different colonial strategies used by the Spanish and the English with regard to Indians and the prevalence of alcohol consumption among these Indian groups? The answer to this question is a resounding yes. The Spanish strategy of converting Indians without greatly altering their lifestyle allowed many traditional Indian customs to continue into the eighteenth century until the time when the missions were destroyed. Drinking cacina was one such custom, as were matrilineal inheritance, farming, and leadership determined through matrilineal descent. The Spanish
friars stationed among the Indian groups really cared about the people whose souls they were saving, and likely frowned upon alcohol consumption among Indians “for their own good.”

On the other hand, the English policy of keeping Indians at a distance while exploiting them to gain slaves and deerskins greatly changed the lives of Indian groups such as the Creeks and Yamasseses. These groups no longer farmed and hunted only for their own food. They became nomadic groups focusing on slave raiding and deer hunting. Creeks and Yamasseses relied on English traders to supply them with the guns and ammunition necessary for hunting. The English had no qualms about supplying plenty of alcohol to Indians or using alcohol to take advantage of inebriated Indians.

Finally, why did mission Indians of La Florida not consume alcohol? This question can never be unequivocally answered. Perhaps these Indian groups just did not like the taste or effects of alcohol. Based on all of the evidence discussed above, it seems that Indians living in Spanish missions had no real need to adopt alcohol consumption. Creeks and Yamasseses adopted aspects of European culture, such as firearms and alcohol consumption, in response to the changing environment and economies of the Southeast. The Apalachee, Timucua and Guale Indians of La Florida, while changing their religious beliefs, retained traditional cultural practices, and did not adopt European cultural practices such as alcohol consumption.

**Avenues for Further Research**

While researching and writing this thesis, I was able to answer many questions. However, along the way, many more questions came up that could not be covered in the scope of this thesis. For example I focus entirely on the mission efforts of the Spanish in Florida. It would be interesting to see what patterns of alcohol consumption can be identified among the mission Indians of Arizona, New Mexico, California, or Texas. Because historic sources mention the abuse of alcohol in colonial Peru and Mexico (Oré 1936: 44), it would be interesting to see
if native consumption of alcohol is similar to non-missionized Indians in the Southeast or if Spaniards used alcohol among native groups in a manner that parallels the English strategy in southeast North America.

Another issue that could benefit from further study is that of interpreting structures as either “Spanish” or “Indian.” I base part of my argument on the fact that olive jars are more frequent in Spanish areas than Indian areas. This argument would be a lot stronger if there was a way to definitively tell what areas are Spanish versus Indian. It is never completely clear because as elite Indians had access to European goods and many Spaniards used aboriginal ceramics. The presence of Spanish goods does not then mean Spaniards were in residence. Further study needs to be done on artifacts assemblages from mission sites to help us fully understand their context.

Summary

This thesis began by examining why mission Indians in Florida did not consume alcohol. It seems that the colonial strategy of the Spaniards was that of conversion, and Indian-Spanish interaction mainly took place in mission villages where one or two Franciscan friars lived and worked. This interaction was a nondirected form of acculturation. Although religious conversion was a focus of interactions, the Spaniards did not force many of their customs (such as dietary preferences or alcohol consumption) on the Indians. While mission Indians did adopt Christianity, their day-to-day life remained very much the same as pre-contact life. They remained matrilineal and matrilocal, Indian leaders retained their political power (although their influence waned through time), and they continued to grow corn and consume cacina (and not consume alcohol). As a part of their conquest culture, Spaniards in Florida actively dissuaded Indians from consuming alcohol.

English-Indian interaction was very different. English colonists focused on financial gain and trade. Indians in Carolina mainly interacted with English traders, whose strategies encouraged and enabled drunkenness. English traders
manipulated Indians into trade relationships that left them reliant on the English for goods such as gunpowder, ammunition, and alcohol. This directed acculturation relationship resulted in many lifestyle changes for Indians allied with the English, such as an emphasis on deer hunting, a focus on the nuclear family instead of extended family groups, and new dwelling types. Another of these changes was the adoption and abuse of alcohol.

The dissimilar colonial strategies used by the English and the Spanish, and the resulting different types of acculturation, affected their Indian allies. Slave raiding, encouraged by the English, resulted in displacement and disruption of unallied Indian groups. Prior to the founding of the Carolina colony, many Spanish mission Indians had interacted on a relatively limited basis with Europeans. They refrained from alcohol consumption as a matter of cultural choice and, to some extent, Spanish policy. Indians allied with the English, caught up in a mercantile strategy that encouraged a profligate use of both natural and cultural resources, consumed and abused alcohol to their peril.
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Sarah Thomson was born August 26, 1985 in Tokyo, Japan to Bruce and Jennifer Thomson. She moved to Ann Arbor, Michigan when she was three years old. Sarah received her B.A. in Archaeology at Washington University in St. Louis, with a minor in Architecture. She originally intended to get her degree in Architecture, but after taking an Archaeology course as a freshman, she switched majors and has never looked back. Sarah graduated from Washington University in May of 2007, and entered the Anthropology department at Florida State in August of 2007. Sarah has participated in fieldwork in Mitrou, Greece, volunteered in the archaeology lab at Mission San Luis in Tallahassee, Florida, and has worked as a cataloger at the Michigan Historical Center and Museum in Lansing, Michigan. When she is not busy with school work, Sarah enjoys reading historical fiction novels, shopping, practicing yoga, and spending time with family and friends.